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61ST CONGRESS }
2d Session }

SENATE

{ DOCUMENT
No. 647

Statue of
Hon. John C. Calhoun

ERECTED IN STATUARY HALL
OF THE CAPITOL AT
WASHINGTON

PROCEEDINGS IN STATUARY HALL AND
IN THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES ON THE OCCASION
OF THE UNVEILING, RECEPTION, AND
ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUE FROM
THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA

COMPILED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING



WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1910

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound the proceedings in Congress, together with the proceedings at the unveiling in Statuary Hall, upon the acceptance of the statue of John C. Calhoun, presented by the State of South Carolina, sixteen thousand five hundred copies, of which five thousand shall be for the use of the Senate and ten thousand for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining one thousand five hundred copies shall be for the use and distribution of the Senators and Representatives in Congress from the State of South Carolina.

The Joint Committee on Printing is hereby authorized to have the copy prepared for the Public Printer, who shall procure suitable copper-process plates to be bound with these proceedings.

Passed March 24, 1910.

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Unveiling of
Statue of
John C. Calhoun

CEREMONIES IN STATUARY HALL

MARCH 12, 1910.

The exercises took place at 11 o'clock a. m., and were presided over by Governor M. F. Ansel, of South Carolina.

Prayer by Rev. James H. Taylor, Pastor of the Central
Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C.

O God, Our Father in Heaven, who hast so greatly blessed our country and hast preserved our land and institutions through so many years, we thank Thee for Thy mercies and offer our gratitude for Thy providence. We thank Thee for the men who have borne so large a part in the history of our nation, these choice spirits and heroic souls who have put into the nation's life and thought ideals of truth and honor and virtue which have borne fruit a hundredfold to succeeding generations. We thank Thee for their loyalty to truth, their allegiance to conviction, their devotion to honor, their sacrifice for the public good, and their fidelity to public service and private duty.

As we review the lives of these great men, may there come to us the inspiration of their example, urging us to give to the demands of our country the very best of service and honor and love. May the standards for which they strove be ours also, and may we never count ourselves to have attained. May the fire which glowed in their hearts burn in ours also, and may we never let this fire go out. Help us, O God, to serve our nation gladly, to love our land sincerely, and to honor Thee supremely.

As we contemplate the life of this rare man, endowed with most unusual gifts of mind and spirit, who towered above his fellows, may we be inspired to higher ideals and nobler service. We thank Thee for the heritage of his life, for the inspiration of his service to the state and to the people.

May the image of this man cut in stone, standing in full view of the nation, be to all who gaze upon it an invitation to a life in the service of honor and duty. May the invincible spirit of this heroic soul kindle in us a like power and heroism, and may he, being dead, yet speak to us of things lovely and of good report. So may we, when life is finished, leave behind us, as he has done, the memory of faithful service and an unsullied name.

All our thanks we offer Thee through Christ the Lord.
Amen.

Address of Governor M. F. Ansel

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The Congress of the United States in the year 1864 passed an act which has been embodied in the Revised Statutes of the United States as section 1814, which reads as follows:

The President is authorized to invite all the States to provide and furnish statues, in marble or bronze, not exceeding two in number for each State, of deceased persons who have been citizens thereof and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military services, such as each State may deem to be worthy of this national commemoration; and when so furnished the same shall be placed in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, in the Capitol of the United States, which is set apart, or so much thereof as may be necessary, as a national Statuary Hall for the purpose herein indicated.

In obedience to this invitation on the part of the President of the United States, the legislature of the State of South Carolina made an appropriation for the purpose of having erected a statue of one of her greatest citizens and statesmen,

JOHN C. CALHOUN, and a commission was appointed to carry out the purpose of the appropriation. A commission, consisting of Hon. W. L. Mauldin, Hon. J. A. Banks, Mrs. R. Moultrie Bratton, state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and Miss Maggie A. Gist, keeper of the records of King's Mountain Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, was appointed to carry out the provisions of the act of the legislature, and we are here to-day for the purpose of unveiling the statue and of presenting it to the people of the United States of America.

JOHN C. CALHOUN was one of the greatest men this country has produced. He was born in the county of Abbeville, in the State of South Carolina, on the 18th of March, 1782, and died on the 31st day of March, 1850. He was of Scotch-Irish descent, and was twice Vice-President of the United States. In 1811 he was elected to Congress and sat in the very hall in which we are now standing, where his voice was first heard in the counsels of the Nation. It is a coincidence that the statue of him now stands facing that of one of his colleagues while a member of the United States Senate, to wit, that of Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts. CALHOUN, Clay, and Webster are three of the great lights who did valiant service for the United States of America. In March, 1817, JOHN C. CALHOUN became a member of President Monroe's Cabinet, having been appointed Secretary of War. He showed great ability in the administration of that department of the Government, which at that time was in the utmost disorder. In 1824 he was first elected Vice-President of the United States and reelected in 1828. He resigned as Vice-President and was elected United States Senator from the State of South Carolina. He declined reelection to the United States Senate in 1843, and in March, 1844, was appointed Secretary of State. In 1845 he was again in

the Senate from South Carolina and there remained until his death, in 1850. His name and his fame are world-wide and the great work he did for this Nation is known to all readers of history.

It is fit and proper that a statue of this great and good man should adorn Statuary Hall, and I am proud to know that the State of South Carolina has honored herself by placing this statue within these walls. It is not my purpose, however, to make an address on this occasion.

The Daughters of the American Revolution in South Carolina have taken great interest in the erection of this statue, and honor should be given to them for first inaugurating the movement which led to the appropriation being made, and they have worked faithfully until the present day.

It is now my great pleasure to present Mrs. R. Moultrie Bratton, state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution of South Carolina, and Miss Maggie A. Gist, keeper of the records of King's Mountain Chapter, to whom more than any one else credit should be given for inaugurating the plans for the erection of this statue and who will unveil the same.

The statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN was then, amid great applause, unveiled by Mrs. R. Moultrie Bratton and Miss Maggie A. Gist.

After the unveiling of the statue, the Governor, in a few remarks, introduced the Hon. W. L. Mauldin, of South Carolina, a member of the commission, as the orator of the day. Mr. Mauldin was received with loud applause and delivered the following address:

Address of Hon. W. L. Mauldin

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN: The accredited representatives of the State of South Carolina stand here to-day, in this presence, to pay a long-deserved and well-merited tribute to her great Senator and illustrious citizen. The magic touch of the gifted sculptor has transmuted from the cold and silent marble an almost speaking image of his great subject. It is proper to say that the culmination of this statue is due in a large measure to the ardent and insistent work of the Daughters of the American Revolution. Their patriotic work inspired the purposes of their countrymen. JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN was born in Abbeville district, South Carolina, March 18, 1782. After receiving the best advantages possible in the country schools of the then sparsely settled neighborhood, he entered Yale College and graduated therefrom with decided merit. After a short service in the general assembly of his own State, he entered the lower House of the Federal Congress in the year 1810; two years later he was found at the head of the important Committee on Foreign Relations. Serious disagreements were then existing with Great Britain and he eagerly espoused the war feeling of his own country. He introduced a resolution declaring war against the mother country and was successful in having it adopted. The satisfactory result of the war that followed added renown to the glory of our land and established the proper rights of American seamen for all time. In 1817 he entered upon the discharge of the duties of Secretary of War, and so well did he perform the responsible obligations of that position that General Bertrand, a distinguished French officer who had served under Napoleon, likened him, in his administrative ability, to his great master. In 1825 he became Vice-President, to which position he was again chosen four

years later. Irreconcilable differences arose between himself and President Jefferson, causing him to resign, whereupon he was elected to the United States Senate. It is a coincidence that the offices of President and Vice-President should have been occupied at the same time by two citizens who were born on the soil of South Carolina, who were descended from the same foundation stock, and who both rendered able and distinguished services to their common country. In 1843 he resigned his seat in the Senate and sought the repose of a quiet life, but in 1844 he was called to the position of Secretary of State, where his great ability was again plainly manifested. Again, in 1846, he obeyed the call of his State and was returned to the Senate, where he remained until his death, in Washington, on March 29, 1850. Thus he served his country almost continuously for a period of nearly forty years, in perhaps the most momentous period of her constructive history. The student of history will draw valuable lessons from Mr. CALHOUN'S public and private life. His life was marked by serious, sincere convictions of his public responsibilities. He was in no sense of the word a timeserver. His hold upon the people of his own State was not obtained by personal clamor or by any ordinary political methods. He led public thought by logical appeals to reason and by the purity and honesty of his public and private life. In all his public acts he was above reproach and no whisper of improper motives or selfish ambition ever touched his name or fame. The intensity of his nature often caused misrepresentation, and by many who thought, or affected to think, that he favored a dissolution of the Union, but such was not the case. He was an ardent lover of the Union and its institutions, only pleading in his manly and outspoken way for a strict observance and just interpretation of the constitutional and binding obligations of our federal compact. His

whole life was spent in the service of his country. His prophetic soul was alarmed at what he believed was the coming and direful aggressions that would sorely distress the South he loved so well. All great men are subjected to the evil forces of envy, jealousy, and misrepresentation. Oftentimes this is a tribute which is unwittingly paid to the great, the pure, and the just. Washington, Jefferson, Buchanan, Lincoln, and McKinley had a like experience. Mr. CALHOUN was plain in manner, some thought too austere, but to those who came in close contact with him his personality was most charming and engaging. He coveted no title and was known to all his neighbors and friends as "Mr. CALHOUN." The South has been criticised with being over fond of titles, and perhaps this more or less applies and is largely for home use. It can be fairly said that our people in the South have not so far acquired the mania for foreign titles that are often obtained for value received and result in grievous disappointments. Mr. CALHOUN represented the highest aspirations of his people, and while there was a strong and respectable minority in his own State that differed with him in a strict interpretation of the sovereign rights of the States there were none who doubted his disinterested motives or questioned the rectitude of his conduct. Mr. CALHOUN's forbears were of that militant Scotch race who early settled in upper South Carolina and contributed so largely to the cause of the colonial rebellion against the mother country. They were active participators in the struggle for freedom, and while the colony of South Carolina had no special grievance against the mother country she lent a willing ear to the far cry of her New England brethren and cast her lot with those not so well favored. Naturally Mr. CALHOUN inherited the love for freedom and the rights of his people. He seemed to foresee, with almost prophetic vision, the danger to the special institutions of the South. Slavery, which had

proven unprofitable, was gradually being abandoned in the Northern States, and the effort to abolish it throughout the Union was being fiercely urged by an intense abolition element. It seems plain now, after the lapse of many years, that slavery must disappear as an institution. The result of a mighty and frightful war between the two sections settled that question for all time to come. The South does not lament it. She feels that she has been liberated from a responsibility that was vast and heavy. Slavery was established in this country through the greed of the English Kings, supplemented by the shipowners of our own land. Perhaps now the thoughtful people of our own country can read in the record that the negro was brought to this land through the instrumentality of an all-wise Providence. The South has a great problem to solve, and no man can now foresee the issue. Slavery was largely a measure of involuntary servitude, and the relations that existed between the master and slave were greatly of a patriarchal nature, and this condition humanized and fitted the negro for duties which he is to assume in later life. The act of Congress which immediately after the manumission of the negro declared him competent to perform the duties of an American citizen was a conscious or unconscious tribute to the beneficial influences of the institution of slavery to this race of people.

The South has long ago accepted fully the results of the war, and while she is given a problem to solve, greater than has been given to any people in all modern history, she accepts it without fear and is not dismayed. She realizes that great people are alone given great issues to decide. The negro having been faithful to his owners during the civil war, will be treated by them in a humane and Christian way, and every opportunity will be given them to improve their human condition. It is realized that the two races can not be made

socially or politically equal in this country, and the highest thought of Southern people will be directed to the effort to preserve the purity and superiority of the white race. Mr. CALHOUN's character and life work for his country will stand forth with greater sublimity the more closely it is scrutinized. The Scotch race, from which he sprang, has contributed most greatly to the history of this country. Their intelligence, activity, and aggression has made itself evident in every land and in every clime. They are tenacious of their opinions and lovers of personal liberty. Andrew Jackson and JOHN C. CALHOUN were both descended from this race of people. Alike in many characteristics, yet there were vast differences between the two men. Jackson's mind had very little intellectual training, and it was but natural that they should differ as to the limitations at law. Jackson was imperious in his nature, and did not have that apparent regard for lawful restrictions that preeminently characterized Mr. CALHOUN's nature. They were both great men, and both rendered at nearly the same time in the history of their country most valuable services. It would be fair to say that during the time of Mr. CALHOUN's political control of his State that there was a large and intelligent element that opposed his doctrines. In the early history of his State a large colony of Irish Quakers attracted by the salubrity of the climate and the fertility of the soil, established themselves near Newberry, S. C. There they grew and prospered greatly, but gradually becoming dissatisfied with the institution of slavery, they finally disposed of their possessions and moved to Ohio. A few families remained. There was born from one of these families, shortly after Mr. CALHOUN's birth, a child who was named John Belton O'Neill, who afterwards became the distinguished chief justice of the State. Judge O'Neill was perhaps the greatest law judge

the State ever had, and was regarded everywhere for his great learning and high character. He was an ardent Union man and differed with Mr. CALHOUN in politics all his life, but yet in that most valuable book, O'Neill's Bench and Bar, which he contributed to the history of his State, he pays the highest testimonial to Mr. CALHOUN, after his death. Judge O'Neill was an ardent lover of his State and cherished her sovereign rights, but in my opinion would have been willing to give up his slaves rather than see the Union dissolved. While owning a large number of slaves he had conscientious scruples as to the rightfulness and righteousness of slavery, and regarded them more in a condition of servitude than of absolute slavery. In an address that Judge O'Neill delivered after Mr. CALHOUN'S death, he said he—

could almost behold the great leader of South Carolina, in all her political warfare, holding the Constitution of the United States high above his head, point to its violated pages, and hear him in indignant honesty speak a people's wrongs with all the brilliancy and clearness of Fox, and the deep and graceful reasoning of Burke. Honesty, morality, genius, love of country, and devoted service for forty years entitle him to the universal love of his countrymen. The deference which men of all classes pay to great abilities and incorruptible integrity is a tribute due to a sense of the immortality of the soul and to the eminent superiority of virtue. Envy, itself, which always accompanies the steps of the good man and detracts from his fame and misconstrues his motives, worn out in the contest, perishes on his grave.

The work of this commission is accomplished. In honoring Calhoun's memory the State feels that she has honored herself, and that she has also honored this Union of coequal States. On another occasion abler voices will speak of Mr. Calhoun's wonderful work and of his patriotic services to our common country. Across this hall stands also the effigy of the mighty Webster, of Massachusetts. In life they faced each other in

many intellectual combats with equal respect and regard for each other. Their lives and services are carved in the history of their country, and are alike imperishable. Their names and fame belong to history, and is a valuable heritage of an imperishable union of imperishable States.

After the address delivered by Mr. Mauldin, the Governor arose and thanked the very large and intelligent audience, which was composed of many United States Senators, Members of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of War, representatives of the National Daughters of the American Revolution, and many other distinguished persons, for honoring the State by their presence on this occasion. He stated that it was his pleasure to announce that two of the grandsons of JOHN C. CALHOUN, to wit, Mr. John C. Calhoun, of New York, and Mr. Patrick Calhoun, of California, were present, as well as six of the great grandchildren and many other relatives of this great man.

They were all invited to attend the exercises of acceptance of the statue by the Senate of the United States and by the House of Representatives. This ended the exercises on the part of the State.

HISTORY OF MOVEMENT FOR ERECTION OF THE STATUE



At the January meeting, 1906, of the Kings Mountain Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution, Yorkville, S. C., Miss Margaret A. Gist, historian of the chapter, proposed that this chapter should inaugurate a movement in the State to secure the placing of the statute of JOHN C. CALHOUN in the Statuary Hall of the Capitol at Washington. The chapter unanimously and enthusiastically agreed to undertake the work. Plans were formulated and the work was begun immediately. The Daughters gave freely of their means, time, and ability. The success of the work, and the splendid executive ability of the regent, Mrs. W. B. Moore, was a large factor in its accomplishment.

Hon. J. Steele Brice, State senator from York County, and Hon. J. H. Saye gave the Daughters their cordial cooperation and warm words of encouragement. Gov. D. C. Heyward urged the legislature, in his last message, to make the appropriation asked for, and Governor-elect Ansel also strongly recommended it in his inaugural address. The bill was introduced in the house of 1907 by Hon. J. H. Saye, representative from York County. It was passed without a dissenting vote. Senator Brice introduced it in the senate, and it was there passed unanimously. Great credit should be given to these gentlemen for the successful passage of the bill through the general assembly. In appointing the JOHN C. CALHOUN Statue Commission, Governor Ansel recognized the work of the Daughters of the

American Revolution by appointing two of them—Miss Margaret A. Gist, historian of Kings Mountain Chapter, and Mrs. R. Moultrie Bratton, State regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution of South Carolina, members of the commission. This is the first time a woman was ever placed on a commission by the State of South Carolina. It is but just to state that the Daughters could not have successfully carried through the work without the cooperation of the United Daughters of the Confederacy organization and that of the womens clubs of South Carolina.

Acceptance of
Statue of
John C. Calhoun

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

JANUARY 12, 1910.

Mr. TILLMAN. I submit a concurrent resolution, and ask that it be read and lie on the table subject to call.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will be read.

The Secretary read the concurrent resolution (S. C. Res. 20), as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN, presented by the State of South Carolina, to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the State for the contribution of the statue of one of its most eminent citizens, illustrious for the purity of his life and his distinguished services to the State and Nation

Second. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of South Carolina.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The concurrent resolution will lie on the table, subject to call, at the request of the Senator from South Carolina.

MARCH 12, 1910.

The Chaplain, Rev. Ulysses G. B. Pierce, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Glory, honor, and praise we render unto Thee, Our Father, for all Thy wondrous works toward the children of men. We thank Thee that Thou hast so loved us that Thou hast provided that Thy spirit of wisdom shall in all ages enter into faithful souls, making them Thy friends and leaders of the people. Grant, Our Father, that the memory of such may be ever in the

imagination, the thoughts, and the hearts of this people, that we may incline our minds unto Thee and keep Thy commandments forever. And unto Thee, from whom cometh all glory, we render all praise; now and forever more. Amen.

MR. SMITH, of South Carolina. Mr. President, I beg leave to submit to the Senate the communication which I send to the desk.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The Senator from South Carolina presents to the Senate a communication, which the Secretary will read.

The Secretary read the communication as follows:

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Columbia, March 12, 1910.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of

Representatives of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

It gives me great pleasure, as governor of the State of South Carolina, to present to the Congress of the United States a marble statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN, a native of South Carolina, and one whose name is honored wherever known.

JOHN C. CALHOUN was one of the greatest men that this country has produced, and a statesman of renown who has left his impress upon this Nation, and whose name is indelibly inscribed upon the pages of history, both national and state.

The State of South Carolina begs now to present through me, as her governor, to the Congress of the United States, as the representative of the people of the United States, this beautiful statue of a great and good man.

Respectfully,

M. F. ANSEL,
Governor of South Carolina.

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. The communication will lie on the table.

MR. SMITH of South Carolina. Mr. President, I call up, in the absence of my colleague [Mr. Tillman], who is detained

from the Senate on account of illness, Senate concurrent resolution No. 20, submitted by him on the 12th of January, and I ask for its adoption.

The concurrent resolution was read, considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN, presented by the State of South Carolina to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the State for the contribution of the statue of one of its most eminent citizens, illustrious for the purity of his life and his distinguished services to the State and Nation.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of South Carolina.

Address of Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts



MR. PRESIDENT: When the senior Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Tillman], whose illness we all deplore, did me the honor to ask me to take part in the ceremonies connected with the reception of the statue of Mr. CALHOUN I was very much gratified by his request. In the years which preceded the civil war South Carolina and Massachusetts represented more strongly, more extremely, perhaps, than any other States the opposing principles which were then in conflict. Now, when that period has drifted back into the quiet waters of history it seems particularly appropriate that Massachusetts should share in the recognition which we give to-day to the memory of the great Senator from South Carolina. If I may be pardoned a personal word, it seems also fitting that I should have the privilege of speaking upon this occasion, for my own family were friends and followers in successive generations of Hamilton and Webster and Sumner. I was brought up in the doctrines and beliefs of the great Federalist, the great Whig, and the great Republican. It seems to me, I repeat, not unfitting that one so brought up should have the opportunity to speak here when we commemorate the distinguished statesman who, during the last twenty-five years of his life, represented with unrivaled ability those theories of government to which Hamilton, Webster, and Sumner were all opposed.

From 1787 to 1865 the real history of the United States is to be found in the struggle between the forces of separatism and those of nationalism. Other issues and other questions during that period rose and fell, absorbed the attention of the country,

and passed out of sight, but the conflict between the nationalist spirit and the separatist spirit never ceased. There might be a lull in the battle, public interest might turn, as it frequently did, to other questions, but the deep-rooted, underlying contest was always there, and finally took possession of every passion and every thought, until it culminated at last in the dread arbitrament of arms. The development of the United States as a nation, in contradistinction to a league of states, falls naturally into four divisions. The first is covered by the administrations of Washington and Adams, when the Government was founded by Washington and organized by Hamilton, and when the broad lines of the policies by which its conduct was to be regulated were laid down. When Washington died, the work of developing the national power passed into the hands of another great Virginian, John Marshall, who, in the cool retirement of the Supreme Court for thirty years, steadily and surely, but almost unnoticed at the moment, converted the Constitution from an experiment in government, tottering upon the edge of the precipice which had engulfed the Confederation, into the charter of a nation. While he was engaged upon this work, to which he brought not only the genius of the lawyer and the jurist, but of the statesman as well, another movement went on outside the court room, which stimulated the national life to a degree only realized in after years, when men began to study the history of the time.

By the Revolution we had separated ourselves from England and established nominally our political independence. But that political independence was only nominal. The colonial spirit still prevailed. During the two hundred years of colonial life our fortunes had been determined by events in Europe. It was no mere metaphor which Pitt employed when he said he would "conquer America upon the plains of Germany," and the idea

embodied in the words of the Great Commoner clung to us even after the adoption of the Constitution, for habits of thought, impalpable as air, are very slow to change. The colonial spirit resisted Washington's neutrality policy when the French Revolution broke out, and as the years passed was still strong enough to hamper all our movements and force us to drift helplessly upon the stormy seas of the Napoleonic wars. The result was that we were treated by France on one side and by England on the other in a manner which fills an American's heart with indignation and with shame even to read of it a hundred years afterwards. And then in those days of humiliation there arose a group of young men, chiefly from the South and West, who made up their minds that this condition was unbearable; that they would assert the independence of the United States; that they would secure to her due recognition among the nations; and that rather than have the shameful conditions which then existed continue they would fight. They did not care much with whom they fought, but they intended to vindicate the right of the United States to live as a respected and self-respecting independent nation. Animated by this spirit, they plunged the country into war with England.

They did not stop to make proper preparations; their legislation was often as violent as it was ineffective; the war was not a success on land, and was redeemed only by the victory at New Orleans and by the brilliant fighting of our little navy. On the face of the treaty of Ghent it did not appear that we had gained a single one of the points for which we went to war, and yet the war party had really achieved a complete triumph. Through their determination to fight at any cost we were recognized at last as an independent nation, and, what was far more important, we had forever destroyed the colonial idea that the politics and the peace of the United States were to veer hither

and thither at the bidding of every breeze which blew from Europe. Such work could not have been done without a vigorous growth of the national spirit and of the national power, and the group of brilliant men who brought on the war were entirely conscious that in carrying out their policy they were stimulating the national—the American—spirit to which they appealed. Chief among the leaders of that group of young men who were responsible for the origin and conduct of the war of 1812 was JOHN C. CALHOUN.

As the war, with its influences and results, sank back into the past, domestic questions took possession of the field, and the conflict between the separatist and national forces which had been temporarily obscured forged again to the front, but under deeply altered conditions. When John Marshall died in 1835, his great work done, the cause which he had so long sustained had already entered upon its third period—the period of debate—and the task which had fallen from the failing hands of the great Chief Justice was taken up in another field by Daniel Webster, who for twenty years stood forth as the champion of the proposition not that the Constitution could make a nation, but that, as a matter of fact, it had made a nation. Against him was CALHOUN, and between the two was Henry Clay. The twenty years of debate which then ensued are known familiarly as the days of Clay, Webster, and CALHOUN. The names of the Presidents who occupied the White House during most of that time have faded, and the era of debate in the history of the parliamentary struggle between the national and the separatist principles is not associated with them but with the great Senators who made it illustrious. As the century passed its zenith all three died, closely associated in death as they had been in life. The compromise which Clay and Webster defended and of which CALHOUN despaired was quickly wrecked in the years

which followed, and then came war and the completion of the work begun by Washington, through the life and death of Abraham Lincoln and the sacrifices and the tragedy of four years of civil war.

To have been, as CALHOUN was, for forty years a chief figure in that period of conflict and development—first a leader among the able men who asserted the reality of the national independence and established the place of the United States among the nations of the earth, and afterwards the undisputed chief of those who barred the path of the national movement—implies a man of extraordinary powers both of mind and character. He merits not only the high consideration which history accords, but it is also well that we should honor his memory here, and, turning aside from affairs of the moment, should recall him and his work that we may understand what he was and what he meant. He was preeminently a strong man, and strong men, leaders of mankind, who shape public thought and decide public action are very apt to exhibit in a high degree the qualities of the race from which they spring. CALHOUN came of a vigorous race and displayed the attributes, both moral and intellectual, which mark that race, with unusual vividness and force. On both sides he was of Scotch descent. His name is a variant of the distinguished Scotch name Colquhoun. It was a place name, assumed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when they came into possession of certain lands, by the noble family which was destined to bear it for many generations. Judged by the history of the knights who in long succession held the estates and the title, the Colquhouns or Calhouns, who spread and multiplied until they became a clan, were a very strong, very able, very tenacious stock. They had great need of all these qualities in order to maintain themselves in power, property, and position during the five hundred years which elapsed before the first

Calhoun and the first Caldwell started on the migration which, after a brief pause in the north of Ireland, carried Patrick Calhoun and some of the Caldwells over the ocean to South Carolina. Both families were typical of their race, for the Colquhouns are spoken of as a Gaelic clan, while the Caldwells were Lowlanders from the Solway. In order to understand these types we must go back for a moment into those dim, almost uncharted, regions of history which disclose to us the tribes of the Germanic forests pouring down upon the wreck of the Roman Empire. When the successive waves of Teutonic invasion broke upon Britain they swept up to the mountains of the North, driving the native Picts and Scots before them, and no part of their conquest was more thoroughly Danish and Saxon than the lowlands of Scotland. But the Highlander, who represented the survival of the Celts, and the Lowlander, who represented the invaders, were quickly welded together in a common hostility to their great and grasping neighbor of the South. The Celtic blood mingled with that of the descendants of the Teutonic tribes. They quarreled, they fought side by side, they intermarried; they modified each other and gradually adopted each other's customs and habits of thought. We have but to read "Rob Roy" to learn that although the Highlander looked down upon the Lowlander as a trader and shopkeeper, and the Lowlander regarded the Highlander as wild and barbarous, the ties of blood and common suffering were strong between them and that they were all Scotchmen. It is a remarkable history, that of Scotland, one of the most remarkable in the annals of men. Shut up in that narrow region of mountain and of lake, a land of storm and cold and mist, with no natural resources except a meager soil and a tempestuous sea to yield a hard-earned living; poor in this world's goods, few in number, for six hundred years these hardy people maintained their independence against their

powerful foe to the southward and only united with him at last upon equal terms. For six hundred years they kept their place among the nations, were the allies of France, were distinguished for their military virtues on the Continent of Europe, and cherished a pride of race and country to which their deeds gave them an unclouded title. They did all these things, this little people, by hard fighting. For six hundred years they fought, sometimes in armies, sometimes in bands, always along the border, frequently among themselves. It was a terrible training. It did not tend to promote the amenities of life, but it gave slight chance of survival to the timid or the weak. It produced the men who fell with their King at Flodden. They could die there where they stood beneath the royal standard, but they could not be conquered.

Those six centuries of bitter struggle for life and independence, waged continuously against nature and man, not only made the Scotch formidable in battle, renowned in every camp in Europe, but they developed qualities of mind and character which became inseparable from the race. For it was not merely by changing blows that the Scotch maintained their national existence. Under the stress of all these centuries of trial they learned to be patient and persistent, with a fixity of purpose which never weakened, a tenacity which never slackened, and a determination which never wavered. The Scotch intellect, passing through the same severe ordeal, as it was quickened, tempered, and sharpened, so it acquired a certain relentlessness in reasoning which it never lost. It emerged at last complete, vigorous, acute, and penetrating. With all these strong qualities of mind and character was joined an intensity of conviction which burned beneath the cool and calculating manner and of which the stern and unmoved exterior gave no sign, like the fire of a furnace, rarely flaming, but giving forth

a fierce and lasting heat. To this somewhat rare combination we owe the proverbial phrase of the "perfidium ingenium Scotorum," an attribute little to be expected in a people so outwardly calm and self-contained. To them, in the struggle of life, could be applied the words in which Macaulay described Cromwell's army: "They marched to victory with the precision of machines, while burning with the wildest fanaticism of Crusaders." After the union, under Queen Anne, peace came gradually to the long-distracted land, broken only by the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, and then the Scotch intellect found its opportunity and began to flower. In the latter part of the eighteenth and the first part of the nineteenth century Scotland gave to poetry Scott and Burns and Campbell; to history Hume and Robertson; to metaphysics Hamilton, Reid, and Stuart; to fiction Smollet and the "Author of Waverley;" to political economy Adam Smith; and these are only the greatest luminaries in a firmament of stars. Edinburgh became one of the intellectual centers of western civilization, and the genius of Scotland was made famous in every field of thought and imagination. It was just at this time that JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN came upon the stage, for the Scotch intellect, trained and disciplined through the darkness and the conflicts of six hundred years, blossomed in the New World as in the Old when once the long pressure was removed, when the sword needed no longer to be kept always unsheathed and men could sleep without the haunting fear that they might be awakened at any moment by the light of burning homesteads and the hoarse shouts of raiders from over the border whose path was ever marked by desolation and bloodshed.

In the inadequate description which I have attempted of the Scotch character and intellect, slowly forged and welded and shaped by many stern, hard-fighting generations, I think I have

set forth the mental and moral qualities of Mr. CALHOUN. He had an intellect of great strength, a keen and penetrating mind; he thought deeply and he thought clearly; he was relentless in reasoning and logic; he never retreated from a conclusion to which his reasoning led. And with all this he had the characteristic quality of his race, the "*perfidum ingenium*," the intensity of conviction which burned undimmed until his heart ceased to beat. Thus endowed by nature and equipped with as good an education as could then be obtained in the United States, Mr. CALHOUN entered public life at the moment when the American people were smarting under the insults and humiliations heaped upon them by France and England, and were groping about for some issue from their troubles and some vindication of the national honor and independence. CALHOUN and his friends, men like Henry Clay, and like Lowndes and Cheves, from his own State, came in on the wave of popular revolt against the conditions to which the country had been brought. Wavering diplomacy, gunboats on wheels, and even embargoes, which chiefly punished our own commerce, had ceased to appeal to them. They had the great advantage of knowing what they meant to do. They were determined to resist. If necessary, they intended to fight.

They dragged their party, their reluctant President, and their divided country helplessly after them. The result was the war of 1812. With war came not only the appeal to the national spirit, which was only just waking into life, but the measures without which war can not be carried on. The party which had opposed military and naval forces, public debts, tariffs, banks, and a strong central government now found themselves raising armies, equipping and building a navy, borrowing money, imposing high import duties, sustaining the bank, and developing in all directions the powers of the Government of the United

States. The doctrines of strict construction, which had been the idols of the ruling party, looked far less attractive when invoked by New England against their own policies, and the Constitution, which Jefferson set aside, as he thought, to acquire Louisiana, became most elastic in the hands of those who had sought to draw its bands so tightly that the infant nation could hardly move its limbs. Mr. CALHOUN, with his mind set on the accomplishment of the great purpose of freeing the United States from foreign aggression, and thus lifting it to its rightful place among the nations of the earth, did not shrink from the conclusions to which his purpose led. His mind was too clear and too rigidly logical to palter with or seek to veil the inevitable results of the policy he supported. As he wished the end, he was too virile, too honest in his mental processes, not to wish the means to that end. The war left a legacy of debts and bankruptcy, and in dealing with these problems it was CALHOUN who reported the bill for a new bank of the United States, who sustained the tariff of 1816, defended the policy of protection to manufactures, and advocated a comprehensive scheme of internal improvements.

Then it was that he declared in the House on the 31st of January, 1816, when he reported the bill setting aside certain funds for internal improvements, after urging an increase of the army, that—

As to the species of preparation * * * the navy most certainly, in any point of view, occupies the first place. It is the most safe, most effectual, and cheapest mode of defense.

In 1814 (*Annals of Congress*, p. 1965) he said in regard to manufactures that—

He hoped at all times and under every policy they would be protected with due care.

Two years later he returned to the subject as a part of his theory of the national defense and said:

In regard to the question how far manufactures ought to be fostered, it is the duty of this country, as a means of defense, to encourage its domestic industry, more especially that part of it which provides the necessary materials for clothing and defense * * *. The question relating to manufactures must not depend on the abstract principle that industry, left to pursue its own course, will find in its own interests all the encouragement that is necessary. Laying the claims of manufacturers entirely out of view, on general principles, without regard to their interests, a certain encouragement should be extended, at least to our woolen and cotton manufactures.

At the close of the same year, December 16, 1816 (*Annals of Congress, 1816-17*, pp. 853, 854), he said:

Let it not be forgotten, let it be forever kept in mind, that the extent of our Republic exposes us to the greatest of all calamities, next to the loss of liberty, and even to that in its consequence—disunion. We are great, and rapidly—I was about to say fearfully—growing. This is our pride and danger, our weakness and our strength. Little does he deserve to be intrusted with the liberties of this people who does not raise his mind to these truths. We are under the most imperious obligation to counteract every tendency to disunion * * *. If * * * we permit a low, sordid, selfish, and sectional spirit to take possession of this House, this happy scene will vanish. We will divide, and in its consequence will follow misery and despotism.

A little more than a month later, broadening his theme, to which he constantly recurred, and speaking of internal improvements (February 4, 1817), he said:

It is mainly urged that Congress can only apply the public money in execution of the enumerated powers. I am no advocate for refined arguments on the Constitution. The instrument was not intended as a thesis for the logician to exercise his ingenuity on. It ought to be construed with plain good sense; and what can be more express than the Constitution on this point? * * * If the framers had intended to limit the use of the money to the powers afterwards enumerated and defined, nothing

could have been more easy than to have expressed it plainly. * * * But suppose the Constitution to be silent; why should we be confined in the application of moneys to the enumerated powers? There is nothing in the reason of the thing that I can perceive why it should be so restricted; and the habitual and uniform practice of the Government coincides with my opinion. * * * In reply to this uniform course of legislation I expect it will be said that our Constitution is founded on positive and written principles and not on precedents. I do not deny the position, but I have introduced these instances to prove the uniform sense of Congress and the country—for they have not been objected to—as to our powers; and surely they furnish better evidence of the true interpretation of the Constitution than the most refined and subtle arguments. Let it not be argued that the construction for which I contend gives a dangerous extent to the powers of Congress. In this point of view I conceive it to be more safe than the opposite. By giving a reasonable extent to the money power it exempts us from the necessity of giving a strained and forced construction to the other enumerated powers.

From the House of Representatives he passed to the Cabinet of President Monroe, where he served from 1817 to 1825 as Secretary of War, showing high capacity as an administrator. He took the department avowedly as a reformer, for the lesson of our unreadiness and our lack of military preparation had been burned into his mind by the bitter experiences of the war of 1812. The army was reduced by Congress during his tenure of office, but organization, discipline, and efficiency were all advanced by his well-directed efforts.

In 1825 Mr. CALHOUN was elected Vice-President, and was reelected four years later. In 1832 he resigned the Vice-Presidency to become Senator from South Carolina. His resignation, followed by his acceptance of the Senatorship, marks his public separation from the policies of his earlier years and the formal devotion of his life to the cause of states rights and slavery. The real division had begun some years before he left the Vice-Presidency. His change of attitude culminated in his support

of nullification and in his bitter quarrel with Jackson, which was all the more violent because they were of the same race and were both possessed of equal strength of will and intensity of conviction.

I have thus referred to the change in Mr. CALHOUN's position solely because of its historical significance, marking, as it does, the beginning of a new epoch in the great conflict between the contending principles of nationalism and separatism. In his own day he was accused of inconsistency, and the charge was urged and repelled with the heat usual to such disputes. Nothing, as a rule, is more futile or more utterly unimportant than efforts to prove inconsistency. It is a favorite resort in debate, and it may therefore be supposed that it is considered effective in impressing the popular mind. Historically, it is a charge which has little weight unless conditions lend it an importance which is never inherent in the mere fact itself. If no man ever changed his opinions, if no one was open to the teachings of experience, human progress would be arrested and the world would stagnate in an intellectual lethargy. Inconsistency Emerson has declared to be the bugbear of weak minds, and this is entirely true of those who, dreading the accusation, shrink from adopting an opinion or a faith which they believe to be true, but to which they have formerly been opposed. Mr. CALHOUN defined inconsistency long before the day when the charge was brought against him with that fine precision of thought which was so characteristic of all his utterances.

Men can not go straight forward—

He said in the House in 1814—

but must regard the obstacles which impede their course. Inconsistency consists in a change of conduct when there is no change of circumstances which justify it.

Tried by this accurate standard, Mr. CALHOUN is as little to be criticised for his change of position as Mr. Webster for his altered attitude in regard to the system of protection. With the new conditions and new circumstances both men changed on important questions of policy, and both were justified from their respective points of view in doing so. That Mr. CALHOUN went further than Mr. Webster, changing not only as to a policy but in his views of the Constitution and the structure of government, does not in the least affect the truth of the general proposition. The very measures which he had once fostered and defended had brought into being a situation which he felt with unerring prescience portended the destruction of the fundamental principles in which he believed and of a social and economic system which he thought vital to the safety and prosperity of the people whom he represented. The national force which he had helped to strengthen, the central government which he had so powerfully aided to build up, seemed to him to have become the creation of Frankenstein, a being which threatened to destroy its creators and all he personally held most dear. It was inevitable that he should strive with all his strength to stay the progress of what he thought would bring ruin to the system in which he believed. Once committed to this opinion, he was incapable of finding a halfway house where he could rest in peace or a compromise which he could accept with confidence. His reason carried him to the inevitable end which his inexorable logic demanded, and to that reason and that logic he was loyal with all the loyalty of strong conviction and an honest mind. There is no need to discuss either the soundness or the validity of the opinions he held. That is a question which has long since passed before the tribunal of history. All that concerns us to-day is to recall the manner in which CALHOUN carried on his long struggle of twenty-five

years in behalf of principles to which he was utterly devoted. He brought to the conflict extraordinary mental and moral qualities, deep conviction, an iron will, a powerful mind, an unsparing logic, and reasoning powers of the highest order. Burr said that anyone who went onto paper with Alexander Hamilton was lost. Anyone who admitted Mr. CALHOUN'S premises was lost in like fashion. Once caught in the grasp of that penetrating and relentless intellect, there was no escape. You must go with it to the end.

He fought his fight with unbending courage, asking no quarter and giving none. He flinched from no conclusion; he faced every result without change or concession. He had no fear of the opponents who met him in debate. He felt assured in his own heart that he could hold his own against all comers. But he must have known, for he was not a man who ever suffered from self-deception, that the enemies whom he could not overcome were beyond the range of argument and debate. The unconquerable foes were the powerful and silent forces of the time of which the great uprising of 1848 in behalf of political liberty was but a manifestation. The world of civilized man was demanding a larger freedom, and slavery, economically unsound, was a survival and an anachronism. Even more formidable was the movement for national unity, which was world wide. It was stirring in Germany and was in active life in Italy. The principle of separatism, of particularism, was at war with the spirit of the time. The stars in their courses fought against Sisera, and CALHOUN, with his keen perceptions, must have known in his heart that he was defending his cause against hopeless odds. But he never blenched and his gallant spirit never failed or yielded. When the crisis of 1850 came, Clay brought forward his last and most famous compromise, which was supported by Webster. The two Whig leaders were

filled with dread as they contemplated the perils which at that moment menaced the Union and were ready to go far on the road of concession. CALHOUN, then nearing his death, had no faith in the compromise. He saw with that clearness of vision which nothing could dim that in the existing state of public thought, in the presence of the aspirations for freedom and national unity which then filled the minds of men throughout the world of western civilization, no compromise such as Clay proposed could possibly endure. He had his own plan, which he left as a legacy to his country. But his proposition was no compromise. It settled the question. It divided the country under the forms of law and made the National Government only a government in name. The solution was complete, but it was impossible. Clay's compromise, as everyone knows, was adopted. There was a brief lull, and then the mighty forces of the age swept it aside and pressed forward in their inevitable conflict.

I think CALHOUN understood all this, which is so plain now and was so hidden then, better than either of his great opponents. If they realized the situation as he did, they at all events did not admit it. Clay, with the sanguine courage which always characterized him, with the invincible hopefulness which never deserted him, gave his last years to his supreme effort to turn aside the menace of the time by a measure of mutual concession. Webster sustained Clay, but with far less buoyancy of spirit or of hope. Thus, just sixty years ago, they all stood together for the last time, these three men who gave their names to an epoch in our history and who typified in themselves the tendencies of the time. Before two years more had passed they had all three gone, and the curtain had fallen on that act of the great drama in which they had played the leading parts. It is a moment in our history which has always seemed to me to

possess an irresistible attraction. Not merely are the printed records, the speeches that were then made, and the memoirs then written of absorbing interest, but the men themselves not only filled but looked their parts, which is far from common in the case of actors in the never-ending drama of humanity. They all look in their portraits as imagination tells us they should look, and I share the faith of Carlyle in the evidence of portraiture. Over the vigorous, angular, and far from handsome features of Henry Clay is spread that air of serenity and of cheerfulness which was one among the many qualities which so drew to him the fervent affection of thousands of men. We can realize, as we look, the fascination which attracted people to him, the charm which enabled him, as one of his admirers said:

To cast off his friends as the huntsman his pack,
For he knew when he pleased he could whistle them back.

A gallant soul, an inspiring leader, a dashing, winning, impulsive nature, brilliant talents—I think one can see them all there in the face of Henry Clay. Turn to the latest portraits of Webster and CALHOUN, and you pass into another world. They are two of the most remarkable heads, two of the most striking, most compelling faces in the long annals of portraiture. They are widely different, so far as the outer semblance is concerned. The great leonine head of Webster, charged with physical and mental strength, the massive jaw, the eyes, as Carlyle said, glowing like dull anthracite furnaces beneath the heavy brows, seem at the first glance to have no even remote resemblance to the haggard face of CALHOUN, with the dark, piercing, yet somber, eyes looking out from cavernous orbits, the high, intellectual forehead, the stern, strong mouth and jaw, all printed deep with the lines of suffering endured in silence. But if we look again and consider more deeply we can see that there is a likeness between them. The last photo-

graphs of Webster, the last portraits of CALHOUN, show us a certain strong resemblance which is not, I think, the mere creation of a fancy bred by our knowledge of the time. Both are exceptionally powerful faces. In both great intellect, great force, and the pride of thought are apparent, and both are deeply tragic in their expression. It is not the tragedy of disappointment because they had failed to attain the office which was the goal of their ambition. That was the shallow explanation of excited contemporary judgment. Personal disappointment does not, and can not, leave the expression we find in those two faces. There is a "listening fear in their regard;" not a personal fear—they were too great for that—but a dread because they heard, as other men could not hear, the hand of fate knocking at the door. The shadow of the coming woe fell darkly across their last years, and the tragedy which weighed them down was the tragedy of their country. It was thus that Webster looked when, in the 7th of March speech in the great passage on "peaceable secession," he cried out in agony of spirit:

What States are to secede? What is to remain American? What am I to be? An American no longer? Am I to become a sectional man, a local man, a separatist, with no country in common with the gentlemen who sit around me here, or who fill the other House of Congress? Heaven forbid! Where is the flag of the Republic to remain? Where is the eagle still to tower? Or is he to cower and shrink and fall to the ground?

However Webster and CALHOUN disagreed, they both knew that the Union could not be lightly broken. They knew the disruption of the States would be a convulsion. They foresaw that it would bring war, the war which Webster predicted, and they both turned with dread from the vision which haunted them.

We catch the same note in the words of CALHOUN on March 5, 1850, when he declared, "If I am judged by my acts, I trust I shall be found as firm a friend of the Union as any man

within it." Despite all he had said and done, he still clung to the Union he had served so long, and when as the month closed and he lay upon his deathbed the thought of the future, dark with menace, was still with him, and he was heard to murmur: "The South! The poor South! God knows what will become of her."

So they passed away, the three great Senators, and the vast silent forces which moved mankind and settled the fate of nations marched forward to their predestined end.

We do well to place here a statue of CALHOUN. I would that he could stand with none but his peers about him and not elbowed and crowded by the temporarily notorious and the illustrious obscure. His statue is here of right. He was a really great man, one of the great figures of our history. In that history he stands out clear, distinct, commanding. There is no trace of the demagogue about him. He was a bold as well as a deep thinker, and he had to the full the courage of his convictions. The doctrines of socialism were as alien to him as the worship of commercialism. He "raised his mind to truths." He believed that statesmanship must move on a high plane, and he could not conceive that mere money making and money spending were the highest objects of ambition in the lives of men or nations.

He was the greatest man South Carolina has given to the Nation. That in itself is no slight praise, for from the days of the Laurenses, the Pinckneys, the Rutledges, from the time of Moultrie and Sumter and Marion to the present day, South Carolina has always been conspicuous in peace and war for the force, the ability, and the character of the men who have served her and given to her name its high distinction in our history. But CALHOUN was much more even than this. He was one of the most remarkable men, one of the greatest minds

that American public life can show. It matters not that before the last tribunal the verdict went against him, that the extreme doctrines to which his imperious logic carried him have been banned and barred, the man remains greatly placed in our history. The unyielding courage, the splendid intellect, the long devotion to the public service, the pure, unspotted private life are all there, are all here with us now, untouched and unimpaired for after ages to admire. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Address of Mr. Smith, of South Carolina



MR. PRESIDENT: It is with a feeling of pride that every South Carolinian has met to-day to do honor to this great statesman, and it is with particular sadness that the occasion should be so incomplete in not having with us to-day the senior Senator from our State [Mr. Tillman], who takes such a pride in the history of his State and especially in that of CALHOUN. The senior Senator was to have had charge of these ceremonies.

A man is largely the product of his environment. The period at which the life of JOHN C. CALHOUN began was, perhaps, the most momentous in the history of the civilized nations of the world.

The immigration here was by those who sought an asylum from the oppressions and wrongs of those governments of the Old World which refused or were incapable of adjusting themselves to the growing sense of the sovereignty of the individual, which sense was being fostered by the rapid spread of education, and this was largely the cause of the production at the time of the American Revolution and the years immediately subsequent thereto of those great characters which, in military and civil affairs, stand out as possessing such wonderful powers of mind and character. Chief among these is he whose statue we unveil to-day in the Hall of Fame.

Born March 17, 1782, his childhood was spent among those scenes and under those influences which contributed largely to his future career.

According to the record, his opportunities for education, in an academic sense, were limited, but in the sense of the period in which he lived were, perhaps, the most fortunate that could

befall a mind and character such as his. He came at a time to which all the lines of the past converged and from which were to radiate the influences that were to mold the future. The colonies of America had thrown off the yoke of oppression of the mother country, because they had agreed that the right of the governed to a voice in the government was inherent and inalienable, and that the peace, prosperity, and progress of the human race could only be brought about by securing to each individual the right of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" that no man—no majority of men—had any right, divine or human, to invade this inalienable right.

He was born in the closing years of the struggle for American independence, for the establishment of a democratic form of government. His childhood and youth were spent during those years when the genius of mankind was attempting to solve the vexed problem of the ages—the problem of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

The different States, which at that time formed the thirteen original colonies, had met and formulated in convention that wonderful instrument known as the Constitution of the United States.

All history testifies to the fact that the labors of these men were directed to one main essential point—the framing of an instrument so in accord with the inherent right of liberty-loving men that the oppressions they had been subjected to in the past should not be repeated in the future, and that this instrument should be so worded and so guarded at every point that the weakest individual, as well as the weakest community, should be protected in all the sacred rights that by nature they were entitled to.

Each State delegated such powers to the General Government as in its opinion was essential to the general protection and

welfare, reserving to each State those powers which, in its sovereign capacity, it was better qualified to exercise for itself.

This was the school—the preparatory school—in which the young South Carolinian was being trained for his future career. How marvelously he had absorbed the cardinal principles of the times his future career wonderfully attests. Perhaps no one of all the illustrious men who make this epoch of our history famous embodied and became the exponent of the spirit of the time as did CALHOUN. This is due to the fact that he belonged to that section of the Union which represented the oppressed, and consequently called forth the same protest that gave rise to the Revolution and the Constitution.

As I have said, his academic opportunities were limited, but with singular application he availed himself of such opportunities as came within his reach. At the age of 19 he entered Yale College, graduating two years later with distinction. He studied law at Litchfield, Conn., and in Charleston, S. C. He was elected to the legislature in 1809, serving two years in that body. In 1811 he was elected a Member of Congress and immediately began that brilliant career which suffered no diminution or abatement, but grew and expanded with the years until cut short by death March 31, 1850. From 1817 to 1825 he was Secretary of War in President Monroe's Cabinet. He brought to that department that same devotion to truth, to the discovery of the principles that underlie and control the perfection of every department or division of life or government, and out of the chaos that then engulfed this arm of the Government he perfected that system which has resulted in the present efficient state of this department.

Chosen to the Vice-Presidency in 1825, he discharged the functions of that office with the same distinction and power that had characterized his previous career. In 1832 he resigned the Vice-

Presidency to become a factor as a Senator of the United States in resisting what he believed was an encroachment upon the sacred compact of the Constitution of the United States. And here on the floor of this, the highest tribunal of the rights of the people on the globe, no voice has ever been raised, nor argument formulated, nor logic so irresistible, as his in the defense of the weak against the encroachment of the strong.

His interpretation of the Constitution was according to the spirit that gave it birth; the unjust taxation of England was the occasion of the revolt of the colonies; and the triumph of liberty against this oppression was the cause and opportunity of the writing of that sacred instrument. And when the same methods were being used to enrich one section of the Union at the expense of another, CALHOUN plead with all the power of his earnest and loyal soul for the right of his section to enjoy the benefits of that that had been given it by God and that he supposed had been guaranteed to her by the Constitution, as the colonies had plead for their rights under God and their charter.

No clearer exposition of the theory of human government has ever been written than his marvelous disquisition on government. He touches the keynote of all that has embroiled nation against nation in civil strife when he says that human selfishness unrestrained leads to the disastrous abuse of power. His sense of justice and right was so acute, his own conception of truth so clear, that he could not for a moment tolerate the sophistry of those who, under the guise of the liberal construction of the Constitution, were attempting to enrich themselves and their section at the expense of another and less populous section of the Union.

In his famous debate with the great Webster on the question of states rights he plead for that construction of the Constitution which was in accord with the spirit of its birth and which

was intended to guarantee to each State and community the fullest possible measure of local self-government. He believed, and with resistless logic proved, that there was no power granted in the Constitution to coerce a State in accepting a law which unjustly discriminated against her enjoyment of every right and privilege enjoyed by another.

He has been criticised for having changed his attitude on the subject of a protective tariff. It is true that the first protective tariff of 1816 he did advocate, as every loyal American did, for the reason that he believed that in the emergency of war our country, being new and unprepared in manufacturing enterprises, was unable to supply her people with those articles necessary for their comfort and convenience, and that in case of a blockade or an embargo, such as we had just experienced, great suffering would result. Consequently he advocated fostering and hastening the efficiency of such enterprises as would render us independent in case of a repetition of a like experience. He realized full well the danger of such an experiment, for none knew more perfectly than he the power of human greed, but, relying upon the good sense, experience, and patriotism of Americans, he believed that when the fostering care of the Government had insured the establishment of these enterprises it would not tolerate the extremes to which their greed subsequently led. No more than his South Carolina forefathers did he believe in ratifying the Constitution that it would be used as an instrument to coerce his State in paying, as they believed, an unjust tribute to this protected greed. As he favored the one for patriotic reasons, so he resisted the other for the same high reason. However subsequent events may have resulted, there is no one to deny the fact that the course of Mr. CALHOUN was consistent and his logic irresistible.

He loved the Union, and it vexed his soul to know that the pride and honor of his State was being so humiliated that he foresaw that unless some measure could be adopted by which the oppression might be relieved, it would lead to disunion, which, to him, was the greatest of all possible calamities.

The two great questions involved—taxation and the abolition of slavery—though in the minds of the protectionists and abolitionists they may have been disassociated from any reference to sections of the country, yet, in their application financially, socially, and commercially, the South was the section that was to bear the brunt of the entire loss and the necessary suffering consequent therefrom. Therefore, as to the tariff, South Carolina passed her famous ordinance of nullification. Under the teachings of Mr. CALHOUN it was believed that so radical a step would bring those advocating this measure to a realization of the wrong that they were perpetrating; and for a time it did have this effect. Mr. Clay interposed his great influence and brought about a compromise, which for a time allayed the friction engendered by this legislation.

The other question, that of slavery, involved far different elements. It was true that there was a seeming inconsistency in democratic America legalizing slavery within her borders. The institution of slavery did, perhaps, tend to create an aristocracy, in fact if not in name, which our Constitution took pains to provide against. There was also a moral element involved which was at variance with the avowed spirit of the New World.

But notwithstanding this, a slave was the only property recognized and provided for by the Constitution. And Mr. CALHOUN plead for the right of the South, under the Constitution, to maintain her own institutions and to solve the economic and domestic questions that arose within each State by

virtue of the reserved powers claimed and held by each State under the Constitution.

The institution of slavery may have been, and perhaps was, a moral and political wrong, but it was also recognized by Mr. CALHOUN as a moral and political wrong for those who could not and did not profit by this institution, and who had recognized it in the organic law of the land to attempt to coerce the South and to disturb the balance of power between the two sections by refusing the admission into the Union of any State that was likely to be a slaveholding State. There was another element involved in this great controversy between the sections which was not properly understood and which to-day is beginning to be realized by those whom fanaticism and passion had rendered incapable of appreciating and understanding the facts, and that was the nature of the negro himself. The people of the South understood that he was incapable of appreciating those higher traits of character and of life that would make him a fit subject for the exercise of the functions of citizenship.

Mr. CALHOUN speaks this clearer than I may hope to do, when, on August 12, 1849, he gave utterance to these words:

I have now stated my reasons for believing that the abolition agitation will never stop of itself, nor ever will be stopped through the presidential election or the action of this Government, and that nothing short of the united and fixed determination of the South to maintain her rights at every hazard can stop it. Without this, the end must be emancipation in the worst possible form—far worse than if done by our own voluntary act, instead of being compelled to adopt it at the bidding of a dominant section whose interest and sympathy for them, and hostility to us, would combine to reverse the present relations between the two races in the South by raising the inferior to be the favored and superior and sinking the superior to be the inferior and despised.

The horrors of reconstruction, the alienation of the races, the intensifying of the natural antipathy, the long weary years of humiliation and suffering attest his prophetic power.

That he foresaw the result of these false principles introduced into our real life is marvelously revealed in the facts of to-day. In speaking on the question of a protective tariff, in 1842, in reference to the tariff, he said:

The question in what manner the loss and gain of the system distribute themselves among the several classes of society is intimately connected with that of their distribution among the several sections. Few subjects present more important points for consideration. No system can be more efficient to rear up a monied aristocracy. Its tendency is to make the poor poorer and the rich richer. Heretofore in our country this tendency has displayed itself principally in its efforts as regards the different sections. But the time will come when it will produce the same results between the several classes in the manufacturing States. After we are exhausted the contest will be between capital and operatives, for into these two classes it must, ultimately, divide society.

Do the strikes, labor troubles that have convulsed our industrial life from time to time since this remarkable declaration, and of which we are having a fearful example just now in a neighboring State and city, attest the wisdom and prophetic power of this statesman and patriot? Was he not in the highest sense a patriot and a statesman when pleading for the defeat of an act which, once incorporated into law, he foresaw would grow into that gigantic abuse which would lead to the disasters that have followed?

In the light of the legislation and the discussions incident thereto that occupied the first half of the present Congress, I can not refrain from quoting his summing up of the same principles involved in the debate of 1842. He says:

On what ground do they ask protection? Protection against what? Against violence, oppression, or fraud? If so, government is bound to afford it. If it comes within the sphere of its powers, cost what it may, it is the object for which government is instituted; and if it fails in this, it fails in the highest point of duty. No; it is against neither violence, oppression, nor fraud. There is no complaint of being disturbed in property

or pursuits, or of being defrauded out of the proceeds of industry. Against what, then, is protection asked? It is against low prices. The manufacturers complain that they can not carry on their pursuits at prices as low as the present, and that unless they can get higher they must give up manufacturing. The evil, then, is low prices, and what they ask of government is to give them higher; but how do they ask it to be done? Do they ask government to compel those who want to purchase to give them higher? No; that would be a hard task and not a little odious; difficult to be defended on the principles of equity, justice, or the Constitution, or to be enforced, if it could be. Do they ask that a tax should be laid on the rest of the community and the proceeds divided among them to make up for low prices? Or, in other words, do they ask for a bounty? No; that would be rather too open, oppressive, and indefensible. How, then, do they ask it to be done? By putting down competition; by the imposition of taxes on the part of others, so as to give them the exclusion of the market, or at least a decided advantage over others, and thereby enable them to sell at higher prices. Stripped of all disguise, this is their request, and this they call protection. Call it tribute, levy, exaction, monopoly, plunder; or, if these be too harsh, call it charity, assistance, aid—anything rather than protection, with which it has not a feature in common.

This was his exposition of the theory of protection.

How fittingly might these words have been spoken in the year 1909! Foresceing as he did the tremendous lengths to which unrestrained greed might go, and the frauds that it might perpetrate, and the dangers to our Government it might entail, as a true statesman and patriot he brought to bear his powers and logic and reasoning to avert the wrong.

To sum it all up, what was the theme of all his speeches? To what great principles was his life devoted? It was the great aim of struggling humanity through all the ages, culminating in the war of the Revolution, and approaching its nearest perfect expression in the Constitution of the United States: Equal rights to all, under the law, and special privileges to none. For this in every department of life he plead. To him truth,

honor, righteousness, equity, and justice were the basis of all proper personal character, the foundation of all enduring governments. And so long as free institutions shall exist, so long as humanity shall battle to overcome the weaknesses of human selfishness, so long will the name of JOHN C. CALHOUN be revered and honored. And in the Hall of Fame there can be erected no monument in free democratic America more fitting, more expressive of the principles upon which her government is founded, and the practical application of which, God willing, she will ultimately attain, than the statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN, the South Carolina patriot and statesman. [Applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE

MARCH 12, 1910.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the order for to-day.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of South Carolina of the statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN, erected in Statuary Hall in the Capitol, be made the special order for Saturday, March 12, 1910.

The SPEAKER. There is but one Member [Mr. Ellerbe], as the Chair is informed, of the South Carolina delegation present. They held the ceremonies in Statuary Hall at 11 o'clock. After consulting with the Member present, it was suggested, if it meets the approval of the House, that the ordinary business of the House proceed until 3 o'clock, and then that the committee rise, should it be in session, and the order be executed. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

* * * * *

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the following resolution which the Clerk will report.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN, presented by the State of South Carolina to be placed in Statuary Hall, is accepted in the name of the United States, and that the thanks of Congress be tendered to the State for the contribution of the statue of one of the most eminent citizens, illustrious for the purity of his life and his distinguished services to the State and Nation.

Second. That a copy of these resolutions, suitably engrossed and duly authenticated, be transmitted to the governor of the State of South Carolina

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. Finley] will take the chair.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I desire to send to the Clerk's desk and have read the following communication.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the communication.

The Clerk read as follows:

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Columbia, March 12, 1910.

To the honorable the Senate and House of

Representatives of the United States, Washington, D. C.:

It gives me great pleasure, as governor of the State of South Carolina, to present to the Congress of the United States a marble statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN, a native of South Carolina, and one whose name is honored wherever known.

JOHN C. CALHOUN was one of the greatest men that this country has produced, and a statesman of renown, who has left his impress upon this Nation, and whose name is indelibly inscribed upon the pages of history, both national and state.

The State of South Carolina begs now to present through me, as her governor, to the Congress of the United States, as the representative of the people of the United States, this beautiful statue of a great and good man.

Respectfully,

M. F. ANSEL,
Governor of South Carolina.

Address of Mr. Johnson, of South Carolina



MR. SPEAKER: I have arisen from a sick bed in order that by my presence at least I might attest my appreciation of the most distinguished man that South Carolina has produced. Although sickness has prevented any preparation, I feel constrained to submit a few observations upon this illustrious man, but I shall not give a biographical sketch of his life. Other gentlemen, who have made that full preparation which the subject and the occasion demand, will go with sufficient minuteness into all dates and events of his great career. He is the one man in American history who needs no flattery. The simple truth will establish his fame among men. He is not understood. He has been more harshly and unjustly criticised than any other man in our public life.

That is due to the fact that one of the great constitutional principles for which he stood preeminently above all of his fellows became involved in a great moral question, which was answered not by logic but by the passions and the power of numbers. It is well to remember that JOHN C. CALHOUN was not the author but the tragic victim of the institution of slavery. He was a man of transcendent ability. This is evidenced by the fact that, born and reared in a sparsely settled country with few school facilities, yet in two years from the time he entered a country academy and began to study Latin grammar he was prepared to enter the junior class in Yale College.

Two years thereafter he was graduated from that institution with distinction. The eminent Doctor Dwight, who differed

radically from him in his political convictions, admired greatly his intellect, and expressed the opinion that CALHOUN had the capacity to be President of the United States, and predicted that he would be.

I have said that CALHOUN is misunderstood and unjustly criticised, many people believing that the only great question that he ever discussed was that which was swallowed up in the civil war. In truth he investigated, mastered, and discussed every important question of legislation and administration from 1810 until March 31, 1850, when his great soul took its flight, his eloquent tongue was silenced, and the master brain, which for analysis had had no peer since Paul the Apostle, ceased its activities.

When he came here, in 1810, between the oppression of France on the one hand and England on the other the independence of the United States was nominal only. He took his place as the leader of that set of young statesmen who brought on the war of 1812, which gave us real independence on the land and on the sea and finally settled our place among the nations of the earth. His first great speech in the House of Representatives was made in reply to John Randolph, of Virginia. He spoke upon a resolution which he had presented from the Committee on Foreign Relations. By that effort he at once established himself as one of the great thinkers of the age, and the Richmond Dispatch of that day gave him credit for being one of the most prominent and promising young men in public life.

He was intimately identified with all legislation growing out of the war, and after the war was over and our finances and currency were in miserable plight, he was made chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency. He investigated the currency and the finances from every possible standpoint, and was more instrumental than any other man in getting the

finances properly adjusted and the country brought to a specie basis.

In 1817 he passed from the House of Representatives into the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe as Secretary of War, a position which he held until he was elected Vice-President of the United States. He took charge of the War Department and brought system out of chaos.

In 1825 he became Vice-President of the United States, and was again elected in 1828, but subsequently—1832—he resigned as Vice-President to become a Senator in Congress from South Carolina. And here I may remark, in passing, lest I forget it, that there never was a day when there was not a seat in the Senate of the United States for JOHN C. CALHOUN if he desired to occupy it. Whether he occupied a place in the Cabinet or as presiding officer of the Senate, the moment he indicated his willingness to resign there was an immediate resignation of some Senator from South Carolina in order that CALHOUN might have the seat. That has happened in the life of no other man in the history of this Republic. I may say, in this connection, that only one time in all his public life did he meet with serious opposition at the hands of the electorate in South Carolina.

In 1824, after he had voted to give Members of Congress a yearly compensation, on returning to South Carolina he found his vote exceedingly unpopular. Most of the Members of Congress who voted for that measure were never returned. CALHOUN's friends urged him to apologize to the electorate of his district and acknowledge that he was wrong and ask their indulgence. But that he refused to do. Not believing that he was wrong, he could not apologize. All he desired was to be heard by the people. He went upon the stump, and he presented with that precision and that logic for which he was noted his reasons for his vote, and was triumphantly elected to Congress.

That was the first and only time, Mr. Speaker, in all his forty years of public life that he ever met opposition at the hands of the people of South Carolina.

When he retired from the Vice-Presidency he entered the Senate in what is characterized as the "debating era" of this Government. There he found as colleagues Thomas Hart Benton, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster. Even the names of many of the men in public life at that time have passed from recollection, but these great intellectual giants stand out pre-eminently in our history and are known to every schoolboy. It is not necessary to say that as CALHOUN had taken the lead in the House of Representatives in that set of young statesmen who brought on the war of 1812 and established our independence upon the sea, in fact as well as in name, in the other end of the Capitol he was likewise among the foremost.

As I have already said, he discussed all the great questions from 1810 to 1850; and while his life went out as a great tragedy, his place in history is secure.

It is a remarkable coincidence, Mr. Speaker, that just a hundred years after JOHN C. CALHOUN was elected a Representative in Congress, the people of South Carolina, through the general assembly, accepting the invitation of Congress to place in Statuary Hall in bronze or marble the effigy of one of her most eminent citizens, has sent to this place the immaculate CALHOUN. Pure, white, and spotless as is the marble statue which was this day unveiled, it is not whiter, it is not purer, it is not more spotless than was JOHN C. CALHOUN as he tabernacled in the flesh. [Applause.]

And so, Mr. Speaker, South Carolina presents to the American people in lasting, enduring form, the statue of her greatest citizen; and as I heard an eminent scholar in another body say to-day, that of itself is no small compliment, for in war or in peace she

has always occupied a conspicuous place in our history. She presented in 1810, and has presented in every period of our history, some of the most eminent men in the life of the Republic.

Mr. Speaker, I have not the time to dwell upon and develop the thought, but I wish to mention it in passing, that South Carolina has come to be the greatest cotton manufacturing State in the Union save Massachusetts; but the protection sentiment in that State is negligible. What an eloquent tribute is this to JOHN C. CALHOUN!

Take our greatest and most eminent citizen in spotless marble as the heritage of all the people, and let his pure life be an inspiration to pure living and high thinking. [Applause.]

Address of Mr. McCall, of Massachusetts



MR. SPEAKER: Statuary Hall is, somewhat ambitiously, I think, often called our national Pantheon, where a place is given to the statues of the great men of the Nation. The collection doubtless belongs to the Nation, but in no other sense except in a peculiar one can it be called a national gallery. The selections are made by no national authority, but by the separate States, which are given the equal right to choose two men whose statues shall appear there. The hall is thus primarily a gallery for the States, and that fact must be borne clearly in mind in order to understand the meaning of the collection. The States have usually done themselves justice, and, with very few exceptions, have made the best selections they could make, but as they are far from equal in fertility as mothers of great men it is inevitable that there will be far greater men not represented in the collection than some of those who are there. Virginia, for instance, is a very nurse of lions. She has already presented her two statues, and yet, if she were given the right to add to the number, she has in reserve Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall and James Madison, any one of whom many of the States would be proud to make their first choice. It is then a gallery of the great men of the States rather than of the Nation.

But it is fortunate that we have a collection formed in this way, because of the breadth of the portrayal which it really gives to our history. Instead of witnessing there a single historical tone, as we should if the gallery were filled by the choice of New England, or the West, or the South, or possibly by some central authority, we have the local and sectional coloring;

the choice of the different States gives us a blending of characters standing for different and even opposite shades of thought, and we see there side by side the men out of whose conflicts with each other has been evolved the America of to-day. [Applause.] How vastly better and broader this than to have none but safe and orthodox statues illustrating a single constitutional school, statesmen who advocated the same doctrines, soldiers who always fought the same battles, with no suggestion of the fierce internal struggles by which the Nation was molded. Statuary Hall thus has a high value as a gallery of history with the different sides of our great struggles represented. It is perhaps too much to hope that it should also be a gallery of art.

The pending resolution formally accepts from the State of South Carolina the statue of JOHN C. CALHOUN and thanks the State for the gift. I think in this gift that she has done herself full justice, and is presenting the statue of her most distinguished son, who played a great part in the development of our national history. He was born and educated in the State and was identified with her throughout his whole life. For nearly forty years he was connected with the Government of the Nation in the most responsible positions. He held the offices of Representative and Senator from South Carolina, of Secretary of War and of State, and of Vice-President. He was practically in continuous service from 1811 to 1850, when he died in Washington while a Member of the Senate. In point of intellect and in purity of character he ranks among the very greatest of our statesmen, and, although his name is more conspicuously identified than any other name with the theory of nullification, a theory to which his extraordinary power of logic gave practical force as a political principle, more than once in critical times he devoted himself to the work of preventing a rupture between the central and the state governments and of

maintaining the Union. He was throughout his whole life devoted to his native State. His first recollection was of South Carolina as a completely sovereign republic except for the Articles of Confederation which had little or no binding force. He was nurtured in the idea that his State was his country, and in his political philosophy his primary allegiance was to her, and through her he derived his more remote and less affectionate relations with the Federal Government.

He was fortunate in his education, considering the times. His early boyhood was taken up with the reading of a very few good books. For two years, which seems to have been almost the entire time of his schooling in South Carolina, he attended a famous school which was held in the woods with the boys living in log cabins and farmhouses nearby, and every morning at sunrise the master would summon them to work with a blast upon a hunter's horn. He was a serious-minded boy, and remained of a serious temperament throughout his life.

His biographer, Mr. Hunt, tells us that he rarely read poetry, and that when he once essayed to write some verses every stanza began with "whereas." His two years spent in Doctor Waddell's school fitted him for the junior class at Yale College, from which, after two more years of study, he graduated. He then took a two years' course in a law school in Connecticut. Thus, of six years spent at school, he was for four years in the North. We should expect that his residence there would have affected his views upon the great constitutional question with which he was afterwards identified. And this is not at all unlikely, for the theories that were kindred with nullification were probably as rife at that day in Connecticut as they were in South Carolina. And there is evidence that one of his law teachers was of opinion in 1804 that the time had arrived for New England to separate from the Union.

When he entered Congress nearly all the leaders of the Revolutionary period had passed from the stage and the affairs of the Nation were soon to be directed by men of the next generation. During the next forty years Congress was to be largely dominated by three men—or, at least three men stood out so conspicuously from their associates as to form a class by themselves; they were of such heroic proportions as to cause us even to this day to look back upon that period of our congressional history as upon a golden age. CALHOUN was one of that triumvirate, and the others, it is hardly necessary to add, were Daniel Webster and Henry Clay.

CALHOUN'S service at Washington divides itself into two periods. From 1811 to 1828 he was a national statesman. He declared in the House of Representatives that he was not there to represent a State alone, but that he would contend for the interest of the whole people. It was a theory of his at that time that the "Constitution is not a thesis for the logician to exercise his casuistry on." He declared that woolen and cotton manufacturing should have a moderate but permanent protection. In his first term in Congress he brought in the resolution for war against Great Britain, a war which, except for the brilliant success of our few ships, was neither a glorious nor a decisive war. As Secretary of War he was a member of the same Cabinet as John Quincy Adams, and worked with that critical statesman in a way to gain his admiration. With the possible exception of Henry Clay, he was as thoroughgoing a national statesman as could be found in Washington during his first fifteen years of service.

We now come to the second period of his service, and in what I shall say concerning this period I shall confine myself to a few observations upon the subject which presents the most important aspect of his career. He was by far the foremost

representative of the idea of state sovereignty and of the right of a State to veto national laws, and it is in that relation that he becomes a great historical character, imperishably associated with the overshadowing constitutional struggle of our history. His position upon this issue was first clearly apparent in 1828. The operation of the protective tariff had proved burdensome to South Carolina, which was almost purely an agricultural State, with a system of slave labor unfavorable to the development of manufactures. Extreme hostility to the tariff led, under the loosely formed constitutional notions of that time, to the development of the nullification programme.

CALHOUN found a sentiment of opposition to this unpopular law widely prevalent in his State, and was influenced by it, but that alone was not responsible for his position. He believed the State to be sovereign. Our history at that time was full of instances, which might serve him as precedents, where the authority of the Central Government, as against the States, had been questioned. The Virginia resolutions, which had been drawn by Madison, one of the fathers of the Constitution; the Kentucky resolutions, which were the work of Jefferson; the proceedings of the Hartford convention, which had been participated in by nearly all of the New England States, gave basis for the claim that the States might nullify an unconstitutional law of the Nation. CALHOUN attempted to justify the attitude of his State in its hostility to a national law, and drew up the famous Exposition of 1828, which strongly asserted the doctrine of nullification and attempted to give it constitutional form.

He declared that each State might nullify a national law which it regarded as in violation of the Constitution, and that the State itself was the judge whether a law was constitutional or not. It is probable that at that moment CALHOUN was rather a follower than a leader, and that he reluctantly accepted an

opinion that was rapidly acquiring revolutionary force. The State definitely took its place as the leader of nullification, and there was never afterwards within her borders a real division upon that question. The court of appeals, which held the official oath unconstitutional because it did not include the National Constitution, was legislated out of existence, and the great Union leaders were driven into exile and identified themselves with other States.

CALHOUN resigned the Vice-Presidency and took his seat in the Senate in December, 1832, and in the following February he made perhaps his most remarkable speech, occupying two days, in which he amplified the doctrine of nullification with a remarkable power of statement and analysis and with an intense and remorseless logic, pressing to conclusions from which it appears difficult to escape, but from which one instinctively recoils. He declared that the Constitution was a compact between the States, which remained sovereign, and that the Central Government possessed none of the attributes of sovereignty, but only exercised powers delegated to it by the States; and that upon the question whether the National Government had encroached upon the reserved rights of the State, the latter alone was the rightful judge. He argued that to permit the National Government to decide finally upon the constitutionality of its own laws would be ultimately to destroy the States. Yet in its practical effect it was clear that his doctrine that the States were the rightful judges of the constitutionality of national laws, which they assumed the power to nullify, would as effectively destroy the National Government or reduce it to a mere shadow. To this speech a reply was immediately made by Webster, who showed the chaos that would result from the application of the theory, and who maintained that the basis of the National Government was not a compact,

but a Constitution binding all the States and the people within its sphere and forming a Union which revolution alone could overthrow.

The theory of nullification, however, had received in the speech of Hayne in the Senate its most popular presentation while CALHOUN was yet Vice-President, but after South Carolina had adopted the exposition which codified it and for the first time gave it a definite form. That speech was one of the most brilliant in the annals of our Congress. It was not so philosophical nor so closely reasoned as were CALHOUN's speeches, but it presented the theory with great force, and it contained a slashing attack upon New England and upon some of her public men. It was a brilliant fighting speech, worthy of the place it holds in our greatest debate. Hayne rendered his country a real practical service in the personal and sectional passages of his speech, because they served as a whip to arouse the combative instincts of one of the statesmen of New England. Daniel Webster was then a Member of the Senate. He doubtless would have made a great constitutional argument if he had been attempting to reply to a coldly constitutional and logical speech, such as CALHOUN would have made, for Webster had at that time won the place which he held unchallenged for a quarter of a century as the leader of the American bar. But the dashing personal and sectional attack which Hayne had delivered moved the large and somewhat sluggish nature of Webster to something more than a constitutional argument. It thoroughly awakened him and kindled his passion so that while his reply vindicated the cause of the Union and the supremacy of the National Constitution with amazing power, it did much more. It glowed with the warmth of passion, it displayed a superb irony and invective; in the declamatory passages it spread out the colors of a gorgeous rhetoric; in brief, it presented the great

argument in a popular form, something that gave it much of the tremendous influence which it was destined to exert in molding popular opinion. This speech planted the idea of nationality broadcast, and it was time that that was done. There was scarcely a school boy in the North in the quarter of a century before the civil war who did not declaim it. It built up, if it did not create, the sentiment of nationality. Much has been said about the decisive battles of the world. One needs to be cautious in using the superlative, but I think it can at least fairly be said that this speech of Webster's is one of the very few decisive speeches of the world, and that it is largely due to it that the cause of Union finally triumphed.

The oratorical duel to which I have referred between CALHOUN and Webster in 1833, while not so dramatic nor of nearly so popular a character as the debate between Webster and Hayne, gave the most complete discussion of the question that it ever received. While much was afterwards spoken upon the subject, but little, if anything, was added to the argument.

CALHOUN died in 1850. There was after all a warm spot in his heart for the Union, and in the last days of his life he was struggling to compromise the situation and to keep the Union running, although he was profoundly pessimistic as to the outcome. At the same time, Webster was setting the Union above everything else and alienating many of his friends at home by the sacrifices which he was willing to make for it. Neither of them lived to witness the final appeal to the tribunal of war. That tribunal rendered a decree, the justice and wisdom of which are beyond question, in favor of nationality, and it decreed also that as we have an indestructible Union, so, in the lofty language of the Supreme Court, spoken since the civil war, it is an indestructible Union of indestructible States. [Applause.] Unless by new amendments the powers of the National Govern-

ment can be augmented only by usurpation, which would be no less repugnant to Webster's constitutional theory than was nullification itself. There is danger that we may forget the fundamental importance of maintaining the balance established between the States and the National Government. Undoubtedly the tendency of our time has been toward the absorption by the National Government of the reserved powers of the States. We are tugging at the fetters of our written Constitution as at a chain, and by a species of governmental hypocrisy we have more than once pretended to exercise a power which is granted in order really to wield some power which is not granted. It is for us to see to it that the system, which secures Union while it safeguards liberty, and which war and argument have done their best to establish, shall not be disturbed by state nullification on the one hand nor by national usurpation on the other. [Applause.]

But we of to-day are separated from their time by one of the most colossal of wars. While they had their fears, they did not know what was to come. They were struggling in a peaceful forum for the conflicting views of our system. And as the realism of art perpetuates the past and projects it vividly into the present, so in a hall in this Capitol, which more than once rang with their eloquence, the foremost champion of nullification and the great defender of the Union may still be seen contending with each other and fighting over again in marble the great battle of the Constitution. [Loud applause.]

Address of Mr. Lever, of South Carolina



MR. SPEAKER: Tender as a mother in solitary vigil over her first born, for more than half a century the State of his nativity has kept loving watch over the sepulchered ashes of her most illustrious citizen. For forty years she intrusted him with a confidence akin to idolatry, and the vicissitudes of two generations of men and measures have not sufficed to lessen that veneration nor to bring disloyalty to his memory. His influence upon the standard of political morality and official purity in his State is as vital to-day as when he drew the drapery of his couch about him and laid down to pleasant dreams.

The auspicious events of this day, recording the verdict of exact and impartial history, mark the consummation of tribute of a reunited people. The Nation, removed from the bitterness, strife, and misunderstanding of his distinguished activities, here welcome the opportunity to join South Carolina in canceling a long-standing debt of gratitude, in paying proper homage to his loyal and unselfish patriotism. The Nation honors itself; the fame of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, always secure, now happily commands its national recognition.

Our Hall of Fame, filled with the testimonials of a people's love and gratitude to their great dead, holds none which deserves them more than that unveiled to-day. No encomium the Nation may pay to him can compensate for the life he devoted to her service. The matchless probity of his imperial character, his undoubted love for the institutions of his country, are a lesson and an inspiration inestimable in influence

upon generations yet to come. To quote the measured language of Mr. Webster, his greatest compeer, Mr. Calhoun was "a man of undoubted genius and commanding intellect, of unspotted integrity, of unimpeached honor." "He has lived long enough, he has done enough, and he has done it so well, so successfully, so honorably, as to connect himself for all time with the records of his country." Aye, in truth, his endeavors alone have builded a monument imposing beyond the power of man to devise. His other great compeer, Mr. Clay, refers to his "transcendent talents; clear, concise, compact logic; his felicity in generalization surpassed by none." In like vein spoke all of his great contemporaries, each eulogizing him as a man of spotless character, unsurpassed genius, unalloyed devotion to duty and country. Mr. Blaine, himself the most dazzling political leader of his time, in his admirable work, *Twenty Years of Congress*, pays him the tribute, "History will adjudge him to have been single-hearted and honest in his political creed." "His life was eminently pure, his career exceptional, his fame established beyond the reach of calumny, beyond the power of detraction." This prophecy is fulfilled; history has adjudged; its decree is writ; imperishable is the fame of the great South Carolinian! [Applause.]

The most vital period in a nation's history—a nation whose institutions rest upon written constitutions—is that which may be called "the period of interpretation." In the annals of time no assemblage of men contained more wisdom, more devoted patriotism, more comprehensive reach into the future than that which framed our Federal Constitution. Even it builded wiser than it knew. A broader, more pregnant, and all-embracing instrument was never conceived in the wisdom of mankind. Out of it has grown the glory of the Nation and upon it is predicated her greatness for the future. This "the work of the

ages, chief classic in the literature of freedom," stands without parallel in the history of human government as man's greatest work for freedom of men. [Appause.]

The inherent potentiality of a written instrument is measured by the wisdom of its interpretation. As through the centuries the destiny of England has been shapen in her traditions the course of these United States is mapped in the interpretation of its written Constitution. The searchlights of ships, breaking the gloom of the trackless deep, point the pathway of safety; interpretation, illuminating the dark, pathless way of the ship of state, marks her course for weal or woe.

The interpreters of the Constitution have exerted an influence greater, certainly not less, than its framers in determining the character of our institutions. Free government is a growth, a development, a process of evolution, the resultant of wise interpretations as well as correct and sound fundamentals. The Constitution was but dumb, unliving parchment until touched by the genius of interpretation. In hallowing the sages who wrought it into form let us not forget the services of the philosophers and prophets whose transcendent intellectualities infused into it life and power by the masterful sagacity of their interpretations.

During this period, the building upon the foundation, the transition stage, the most perilous of all others, the rock fatal in the career of republics, the combat of giants, the charge and recoil of master spirits, the sons of South Carolina shone brightest in the firmament of national ideals and carried her flag farthest to the front in the field of thought and influence. No State of this Union ever contributed, at any one time, a greater array of brilliant leaders than did South Carolina, in her William Lowndes, Langdon Cheves, Robert Y. Hayne, William C. Preston, George McDuffie, JOHN C. CALHOUN.

[Applause.] Great as were all these great characters, powerful as was the impress of each upon the thought of his age, popular in State and Nation as they were, preeminent in learning and eloquence, devoted and unswerving to country and a high sense of duty, Mr. CALHOUN stands above and beyond them all in the completeness of his character, the fullness of his wisdom, the matchless splendor of his mind. In moral and intellectual grandeur he was without peer among all these great men, whose brilliant accomplishments have brought so rich a luster to the history of South Carolina.

From his entrance into her legislature to the day of his death his power in the State was substantially absolute. Her destiny she willingly committed to his keeping. And out of this arose the charge that his predominance in her affairs had crushed the spirit of her independence, moving the celebrated ex-Governor Perry to say:

I thought, after the death of Mr. CALHOUN the people of South Carolina could think more independently.

What higher tribute can be paid any force of character or power of intellectuality than to admit they held so complete and welcomed mastery over so proud and independent a people!

The power of Mr. CALHOUN in the State was the indirect effect of his commanding preeminence in the affairs of the Nation. It was in this forum that his great wisdom, his wonderfully acute analytical powers, his marvelous grasp of public questions, his prophetic vision, his personal and political integrity, gave him a place enjoyed by few—surpassed by none—in this most important pivotal period of interpretation. From his advent into the national arena until the close of his momentous life, the impress of his mighty mind, in conjunction with those only who ever approached him in intellectual force and influence—Webster, Clay, and Benton—stamped itself upon every page of the history of that period.

CALHOUN, Webster, Clay, Benton, each greater. each less than the other, this roll call sounds the depth of the Nation's intellectual pride. [Applause.] The legislative history of civilization fails to furnish a quartette comparable with this in the variety of its talents, the magnitude of its genius, the wisdom of its leadership, and the clearness of its prophecy. England's masterful triumvirate—Burke, Fox, Pitt—measured by the standard of comparative abilities and attainments, must give place to our more masterful four.

In no other country has any like combination of men commanded a firmer grip upon or a more thorough conception of the problems of the present, nor exerted upon those of the future a greater or more lasting influence. During all their long service none arose powerful enough to dispute their dominancy in the forum of their activity. In this field they were supreme, all-powerful, overshadowing every other and all others—history's greatest Senators. Here they were the embodiment of the thought, policies, ambitions, and prophecies of the Nation. Their lives are the history of that generation; their philosophy, teachings, and interpretations the bases upon which the institutions of government rest even to this day.

Of this splendid galaxy, this inseparable quartette of political philosophers, none radiated a more conspicuous and constant brilliancy than Mr. CALHOUN. It is true he did not possess the enormous knowledge of Mr. Benton, nor the highly developed perception and penetration of Mr. Clay, nor the rich imagery and almost divine prophecy of Mr. Webster; but in the domain of speculative philosophy and metaphysics he was greater than all combined. He was not so practical as Mr. Benton, nor so dashing a parliamentary leader as Mr. Clay, nor so incomparable an orator as Mr. Webster; but as a logician he is unrivaled among the sons of men.

MR. CALHOUN was not a great orator. He was a great speaker and an unerring analyst. He addressed the intellect, not the emotion. The marked characteristic of his mind was its power of analysis, a faculty which when fully developed constitutes the highest order of human genius. His was not the meteoric genius that dazzles only to blind, but the kind which resolves abstrusest problems into simplest elements. No mind was ever better equipped for the peculiar task which engaged it than was his in unfolding the novelty of an untried democracy. The paucity of precedents of that day forced its statesmanship upon its own resources and opened the most inviting field for the philosopher and the metaphysician. The Constitution gave only general principles to be resolved into their constituent parts, each to be applied to existing circumstances. The wisest and most original thinker could only speculate as to the results. It was the period of interpretation, the especial field of the analyst.

The stage setting, actors, the drama itself, conspired to provoke the fullest exercise of MR. CALHOUN'S characteristic talents, and he played the rôle of interpreter as no man in our history ever played it save Mr. Webster alone. Mr. Webster did not excel him. Upon the intricate questions of this time, so full of complexities, he brought to bear his great power of simplification, direct thinking, resistless deduction, sustained concentration. In such circumstances his power of reasoning, of breaking the mass of things into self-evident first principles, of bringing order out of chaos, of illuminating for others, with the mighty light of his own intellectuality, the dark and apparent impenetrable, gave him first rank among the master minds of this important epoch.

It was this power of concentration, this ability to see beyond the intervening rubbish the one object for investigation, this almost superhuman directness of perception, that was his great-

est strength and yet his greatest weakness. In the telescopic operations of his great mind, the subtle precision of his reasoning, the complete absorption of all his faculties in the subject of immediate investigation, it is said, caused him at times to overlook the present correlated influences or to appreciate their ultimate effect upon the practical results of his final conclusions. Within the limits of his vision he was without peer; but it is asserted that the safety of his leadership and the soundness of his theories were impaired by the narrowness of that vision.

He saw the ship of state swinging down the encliffed channel of the future, saw it with a clearness approaching the supernatural; saw the placid waters upon which it floated; saw the hidden rocks, the dangerous shoals, the roaring cataract; saw them as no other man of his time saw them, and devoted his energies, his wonderful powers, his life itself, to giving her safe voyage. For him the Constitution had marked that channel, for him the Constitution was that ship's compass; beyond that he could not and did not see—the pilotage of none other would he trust. In his own language, "To restrict the powers of this Government within the rigid limits prescribed by the Constitution," this was the chart of his interpretation, the embodiment of his attitude. By this he followed his course, formulated his policies, directed his activities, predicated his prophecies. All other considerations were subservient; to keep "within the rigid limits prescribed by the Constitution" was the supremest thought of his mind, the dearest object of his heart. If to follow the teachings of the fathers is weakness, who but glories in the charge.

"The rigid limits prescribed by the Constitution"—words how full of meaning, how pregnant with the combat of master minds, with history, with destiny itself! They hold the long, illustrious life story of JOHN C. CALHOUN. They contain his doctrine of

nullification—the word he wished inscribed upon his tomb—they comprise the tragic events of secession; they embody the doctrine of States rights, which yet lives in its virgin strength, shedding its beneficent influences upon the statesmanship of this generation. To him these words meant liberty, union, and the Constitution, one and inseparable, if that might be; but liberty and the Constitution inseparable forever.

To the preservation of these he concentrated his abilities with a devoutness bordering upon fanaticism. Considerations of self were buried in the unflinching struggle. Ambition was sacrificed upon the altar of principle to keep intact and pure these priceless jewels. In the zeal of his guardianship is found explanation for the seeming inconsistencies of his career. Viewed in the light of this indisputable history, the mists of misunderstanding, which for two generations have dimmed the splendor of his character, begin to roll away and unveil him to us the purest, most unselfish, most devoted patriot.

A course moved by such ends necessarily brought maledictions upon him and necessitated that independence of party trammels which have made those who love a man admire him most. He refused to bow to the caprice of unthinking constituencies, ready at all times to relinquish his commission to those whom he honored to represent. Others might compromise their convictions for the commendation of the hour, others might swerve from the path of duty to avoid its dangers, others might flee from the wrath of public opinion, others might be deaf to the pleadings of the seers, others might quail before the lightning flash of the hastening storm, others might temporize and hesitate, but not this man of rugged courage and iron independence.

He, like a solid rock by seas inclosed,
To raging winds and roaring waves exposed,
From his proud summit looking down disdains
Their empty menace, and unmoved remains.

[Applause.]

Upon his monument, in historic St. Phillip's Churchyard are engraven the words, "Truth, Justice, and the Constitution." Fittingly they comprehend the ideals for which he wrought. In his toilsome pursuit of them, he disdained the allurements of ambition, scorned the groveling practices of smaller men, endured without murmur the darts of misunderstanding, the shafts of misrepresentation, and the malignant arrows of fanatical hate. Unawed and unmoved by the fury of conflicting ideals, untterrified by the menace of lowering clouds, unseduced by the beckoning hand of preferment, he strode forward, sometimes the popular idol, sometimes alone, always self-reliant in the strength of his mighty giant-hood—the defender of truth, the champion of justice, the protagonist of a strict and literal interpretation of the Constitution. [Loud applause.]

Address of Mr. Ellerbe, of South Carolina



MR. SPEAKER: The occasion which has to-day brought together this concourse of patriotic citizens is one which has found its precedent in history, from the first gray dawn of civilization down to the present day.

Excavators have discovered on the banks of the Tigris, where they have been buried for ages, slabs of alabaster which exhibit in relief the forms and faces of the men who governed the East in that remote period.

It has been the custom of most nations to erect bronze or marble statues in commemoration of their great men.

There is the fond desire, always in the hearts of the living, to perpetuate the forms of those who have been distinguished in the service of God and man, or of those whose hearts have beat in unison with our own, and we seek to express this desire in the immortality of art.

The great Carolinian, to honor whom we come to-day, sleeps in his own loved Dixie. The stately pines lift their heads proudly around his tomb and whisper to each other the story of his pure and patriotic life. His fame is secure, for it is guarded by his own good works. We know that we can add nothing to that fame, for—

His grandeur he derived from Heaven alone,
For he was great ere fortune made him so,
And strifes, like mists that rise against the sun,
Made him but greater seem—not greater grow.

[Applause.]

But the spontaneous love of southern hearts has placed this statue in the halls which have echoed to the words of his eloquence, because they desire to have their children and their children's children know how South Carolina loves and honors her greatest son. [Applause.]

JOHN C. CALHOUN

This is not the hour in which to measure his labors or interpret his ideas. Looking back through the years we realize that his large experience and broad forecast gave him notice of national dangers, as the wires of the telegraph flash news of startling import unknown to the slumbering villages through which they pass.

With CALHOUN there was never a thought of self. His great heart was filled to overflowing with love of his State, and without hesitation he gave up the second, and surrendered all hope of the first, office in the country to defend South Carolina in her solitary attitude of opposition to protective policy. [Applause.]

The grandeur of his intellect, the purity of his patriotism, and the blamelessness of his life were appreciated fully by his great rivals in the Senate, and his glory only shines the brighter in conjunction with those rivals.

CALHOUN, Clay, and Webster, what a triumvirate! Everett says:

They can but be named in alphabetical order, what other precedence could be given them? CALHOUN, the great thinker, Clay, the great leader, Webster, the great orator

Distance can not destroy nor time diminish the simple splendor of CALHOUN'S life. It shines, and is a guidance to admiring posterity.

And now, when the grateful task of placing here this statue is complete, we hand it over as a gift to the Nation.

The stranger approaching this sacred spot shall linger and gaze upon the form of South Carolina's greatest son, and shall realize that he still lives in the heart of his people and the history of his State. [Applause.]

May this statue stand firmly upon its pedestal as long as the Dome of the Capitol rises in grandeur above it.

May it inspire in youthful hearts the desire to give the best that is in them to the service of their country, even as did JOHN C. CALHOUN. [Loud applause.]

Address of Mr. Lamb, of Virginia



MR. SPEAKER: CALHOUN'S speech in reply to Webster, delivered in the Senate on the 26th of February, 1833, was never answered. Mr. Webster followed with a few remarks, expressing kind feeling for Mr. CALHOUN—for it is well known that their personal relations were most cordial—but he never answered the real questions at issue. Mr. Stephens, in his work *The War Between the States*, says:

This speech of CALHOUN was not answered then, it has not been answered since; and, in my judgment, never will be, or can be answered while truth has its legitimate influence and reason controls the judgment of men.

There can be no doubt that this speech modified the views of Mr. Webster, for his subsequent speech before the Supreme Court in 1839, as well as his Capron Springs speech in Virginia in 1851, tend strongly to demonstrate this fact. If this be true, what a tribute to the genius of CALHOUN, as well as the intellect and character of Webster. In our schoolboy days we never called the name of one without thinking of the other.

Three public men of that day we were taught to reverence. The great triumvirate we called them—Clay, Webster, CALHOUN. We heard their names around the fireside; we listened to extracts from their speeches in the Richmond papers; we listened with intense interest to debates between the old Whig and Democratic parties; we saw old men weep like children when Clay was defeated for the Presidency; we saw the war clouds gather as predicted, and were soon reading of the conflict and victories in Mexico; we read that CALHOUN had refused to vote for war and

declared "that the President and Congress were behaving in a manner most unconstitutional." He said:

Every Senator knows that I oppose the war, but none save myself knows the depth of that opposition. For the first time in my public life I can not see the future

He also added:

It has closed the first volume of our political history under the Constitution and opened the second, and no mortal can tell what will be written upon it

It may be said that the second volume of the history of the United States was opened by Mr. CALHOUN himself on February 9, 1847, when he presented resolutions covering the whole ground of the slave question with regard to the Territories. To this volume of American history Mr. CALHOUN contributed his part ably, earnestly, and eloquently. About this time he uttered a sentiment that recalls the language of Clay when he said, "I had rather be right than President." It was this:

For many a year, Mr. President, I have aspired to an object higher than the Presidency, and that is to do my duty under all circumstances * * * in reference always to the prosperity of my country.

In this he spoke correctly, for his sense of duty was the staff upon which he leaned as he went down into the shadow. March 4, 1850, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, read for him his last speech. This speech was both pathetic and prophetic. I forbear to quote. The readers of these addresses to-day will do well in some leisure hours to read the closing pages of the second volume of American history and glance at the opening of another. There are a few here on both sides of this Chamber who helped to make the history contained in the third volume, but we are too modest to speak of it often, and prefer to keep it for the most part out of the RECORD. On the last day of March, 1850, the news of

CALHOUN'S death spread from one end of the country to the other. His last words were:

The South! The poor South! God knows what will become of her!

Here let me add, by way of parenthesis, that I listened only an hour ago in another Chamber to one of the most scholarly addresses I ever heard, where this dying expression of Mr. CALHOUN was quoted and beautifully commented on by the Speaker, who represented a school of philosophy entirely different from that taught by Mr. CALHOUN.

Did his prophetic soul in the very hour of dissolution catch a glimpse of the awful catastrophe that was coming to the land he loved and the homes he cherished? A minor prophet could even then see the cloud no larger than a man's hand, but he could not foresee its momentum and destructive force. It was given to this prince among men to utter a lamentation for his people to which we find no parallel, save in the utterances of Jeremiah when, picturing the condition of his countrymen, he exclaimed in the bitterness of his heart:

Remember, O Lord, what is come upon us: consider, and behold our reproach. Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens. We are orphans and fatherless, our mothers are as widows. * * * servants have ruled over us: there is none that doth deliver us out of their hand.

Reasoning from cause to effect, CALHOUN'S logical and prescient mind caught a glimpse of the future—the man on horseback; shattered and broken Commonwealths; the shock of battle, charge and countercharge; the dead and dying like sheaves of wheat lying on open plains where luxuriant grain had waved in beauty. A land in mourning; orphans crying in the street; widows refusing to be comforted. Suffering sorrow, Death! Hell! All that these suggest of human calamity weighed on the mind and heart of this political prophet as in agony he exclaims, "God knows what will become of her."

And God did know—and has wonderfully ordained—for out of His law of compensation as unailing as the law of gravitation has come a miracle for the people whom JOHN C. CALHOUN loved so well and served so faithfully. Time would fail to tell through what instrumentalities this miracle has been wrought or by what sacrifices the marvelous results have been reached. Enough to say that the citizen soldiery of the South, whose achievements in war will survive in song and story while courage has an altar or virtue a shrine—have shown themselves greater heroes in peace than ever they were in war. To them and their sons must be attributed the wonderful growth and development of the South. True they are falling more rapidly than they fell in battle, and the brave men who met them in deadly conflict and by whose deeds of valor they may well measure their manhood and chivalry are passing at the rate perhaps of 300 each month. These survivors of the mightiest conflict that ever shook a continent have solved many problems that taxed to the uttermost their courage, their patience, and endurance. In time the South will solve others that seem now almost insurmountable. The unseen power invoked in the dying words of JOHN C. CALHOUN has furnished a law of compensation—the miracle goes on. The unseen forces are the strongest and most impelling. For all we know the spirit of JOHN C. CALHOUN catches a view of a happy land and a prosperous people. And for ourselves fettered in our caskets of clay and hindered by our limitations we can only rejoice, "That beauty has been given for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

Mr. Speaker, my friends and colleagues from South Carolina have requested me to present some views on the life and character of JOHN C. CALHOUN. I wish their choice had fallen on some abler and less busy member of the Virginia delegation,

for Virginia's estimate of the noble South Carolinian deserves a better tribute than I am able to pay in the limited time I have had for preparation, as well as the time that due regard for the proprieties of the situation warrant me in using on this occasion.

In Virginia we regard JOHN C. CALHOUN as a grand son of the Old Commonwealth—for his father, of revolutionary fame and achievement, emigrated from Ireland before the Revolutionary war, and settled in what is now Wythe County, Va., where he married a lady of the name of Caldwell, the mother of JOHN C. CALHOUN, and whose family also came from Ireland. Patrick Calhoun was driven by the Indians from the western part of Virginia. In 1756 he removed to Abbeville District, in South Carolina, where JOHN C. CALHOUN was born on the 18th of March, 1782, being the youngest of five children—four sons and one daughter.

He was named for his uncle, Maj. John Caldwell, who was assassinated by the Tories in the Revolutionary war. Stories of this Revolutionary hero were told me around the fireside in my childhood, and a graphic recital of his encounter with and slaying a Cherokee chief that came to my notice only two days ago recalled the history of Virginia and South Carolina as taught me by my father about the time of the death of JOHN C. CALHOUN. Perhaps of all these who will to-day speak of this patriot and statesman I am the only one who recalls his death and the tribute that was paid to his life and character by Virginia, as well as South Carolina. I shall never forget the comments made by my father and his neighbors, and the tributes the Virginia papers paid to his memory.

None can question the selection by South Carolina of JOHN C. CALHOUN to occupy an honored place in the Hall of America's most famous men. CALHOUN's title to this honor is spread on

page after page of the history of his State and the history of this Nation.

In private and in public life, in character, genius, and successful achievement of great tasks he stamped himself a man to be honored and remembered, and South Carolina does well to place his statue here.

His worship of truth, his sincerity, and his sterling integrity were never questioned. No charge of corruption or intrigue ever stained his public life. America claims no statesman whose private life and moral character stands higher; none whose genius and ability can greatly overshadow him. His State may well be proud of him, this Nation may well honor him, and history must justly place him in the front rank of great men of any age or country.

His was a mind combining in rare degree those qualities that constitute an intellect of the highest order. As a logician he has been ranked with Chief Justice Marshall, and, like Marshall, believed that the true art of logic was in rightly stating the first proposition.

No less prominent was his great moral courage, and his perfect reliance on the power of truth and the capacity of the people to be convinced of it. Often in advance of the times, he suffered in prospects and political honors in defense of opinions that he lived to see successfully adopted by his opponents, yet never hesitating to avow his opinions, however unpopular at the moment, confidently stating that he never knew the time when the American people could not be made to see the truth.

He was not learned, in the general acceptance of the term, for leisure and opportunity for the details of scholarship were not afforded him. He gathered vast stores of information from every available source, especially from contact and exchange of views with other men.

With true genius he separated the true and the valuable from the false and erroneous. His mind worked with wonderful speed and rare accuracy.

CALHOUN richly deserved the tribute of Winthrop, when he said that—

There was an unsullied purity in his private life; there was an inflexible integrity in his public conduct, there was an indescribable fascination in his familiar conversation; there was a condensed energy in his formal discourse; there was a quickness of perception, a vigor of deduction, a directness and devotedness of purpose in all that he said or wrote or did, there was a Roman dignity in his whole Senatorial deportment, which, together, made up a character which can not fail to be contemplated and admired to the latest posterity.

CALHOUN as a statesman was unquestionably one of the most brilliant of this country. To devoted patriotism he added sturdy independence, disdaining to calculate the consequences of the faithful discharge of his duty. Fortified by conscious rectitude and purity of motive, he firmly and boldly followed his convictions with an ability, force, and persistence that nothing could withstand. Never timid, never timeserving, he vigorously and ably pursued a course purely national, regardless of mere sectional or local interest. Farseeing and sagacious, advocating measures for the good of his country before their necessity was commonly apparent and approved, he constantly sought to lead and mold the public thought rather than wait to follow it in inglorious safety and popularity. [Applause.]

A devoted worshiper of republican institutions, he aimed to give firmness and durability to our form of government and to demonstrate to the world its superiority over all other forms of government. An ardent student of its principles, he labored incessantly for means and measures to preserve and perpetuate them. Though an active and conspicuous leader in party excitement and strife, all concur in ascribing to him none but the most patriotic, conscientious, and disinterested motives.

It has been well said that there are two classes of politicians:

The one consists of mere men of precedent, the blind and indiscriminating followers of any path, whether made by folly or wisdom, and whether strewn with ruins or covered with trophies; the other, of mere men of theory, who, regardless of the settled habits of the community, erect in their own minds an ideal phantom of perfection, at whose voracious shrine all existing establishments are offered up, however endeared by habits or consecrated by time.

Between these two extremes stood CALHOUN, pursuing that middle course that his own wisdom, profound knowledge, and clear foresight of the needs of his country dictated. To this, in large measure, is due his career of such conspicuous usefulness.

CALHOUN was in truth a great American. No one more thoroughly understood those principles of human liberty which it was the mission of our people to spread over a vast continent and in time become an object lesson for the human race. And still he was the Southerner, for he understood and appreciated to the full the social organization peculiar to the South.

His love of truth, of freedom, and of his country, coupled with a thorough scorn of everything base and groveling, constituted his ruling passions. In private life he was singularly cheerful, amiable, and fascinating. His friends, his foes, his rivals, the very abolitionists themselves, rendered him tribute and acknowledged his private virtues, his public worth, and his conspicuous ability in every sphere in life.

While some of his political sentiments differed from those of the great and good of the age, he was absolutely sincere, and asserted his beliefs with all the earnestness of an enthusiastic nature. It has often been said that he wished to sever the Union. He loved the Union and strove to preserve it. On this point a contemporary of his said:

Because he foresaw and frankly said that certain effects must result from certain causes, does this prove that he desired these effects?

In his last speech he spoke of disunion as a "great disaster." While he called on the South for union, he did not fail to warn the North of the danger to the Union arising from their wild and misguided philanthropy, which, in order to sustain abstract principles, loses sight of the welfare and happiness of every class of society.

CALHOUN has been accused of inconsistency—that at one time he was for a protective tariff, at another for almost absolute free trade.

In this he was not different from many statesmen of his period. In the early history of this country, when we had few manufacturers, it was necessary to protect our infant industries. During these years Mr. CALHOUN was for protection. When the infants were approaching maturity he clearly saw the injustice to his own agricultural section of fostering enterprises that would lay tribute on one section to build up the wealth and industries of another. A writer in the *International Magazine* of 1843 puts this question of consistency so strongly that I gladly insert, for the observation applies as well to-day as it did over half a century ago:

Nothing is more inconsistent than to persist in a uniform belief when changing circumstances demand its modification. How absurd to preserve a law which in the progress of society has become null and obsolete; for instance, granting to a criminal "the benefit of clergy."

Nothing—

Says a distinguished English writer—

is so revolutionary as to attempt to keep all things fixed when, by the very laws of nature, all things are perpetually changing. Nothing is more arrogant than for a fallible being to refuse to open his mind to conviction. When Mr. CALHOUN altered his opinion, consistency itself required the change.

[Loud applause.]

Address of Mr. Aiken, of South Carolina



MR. SPEAKER: Doubtless many a "mute inglorious Milton" is unknown to fame for lack of an inspiring preceptor. Doctor Waddell and the little school, located years ago in the western portion of Abbeville County, known as Willington Academy, owed their great prominence largely to the fact that JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN received there his first scholastic training; but to this great preceptor, it may be truthfully said, Mr. CALHOUN owed his all. If this master preceptor had not applied the spark, the fires of genius would most likely never have kindled. The teacher who confines his lessons to the narrow compass of text-books does not understand aright his mission. We ascribe to Doctor Waddell this part in Mr. CALHOUN'S career for the reason that we assume that the boys who came under his tuition were presumably not far above the average American boy, generally speaking, and yet we find in a long list of those who received their early training from him such other names as James L. Petigru, Judge A. B. Longstreet, George McDuffie, W. H. Crawford, W. D. Martin, Hugh S. Legare, George W. Crawford, D. L. and F. H. Wardlaw, and N. P. and P. M. Butler, all of whom attained great distinction in the service of their State and the Nation.

But the fires kindled in the heart of young CALHOUN mounted higher than an academic education, and so, in 1802, he entered Yale College, from which he graduated two years later. He was 20 years of age at the time he entered Yale, having been born in Abbeville County March 18, 1782.

I have the honor to represent that district of South Carolina from which Mr. CALHOUN was sent to Congress, taking his seat November 4, 1811. My home in the city of Abbeville is but a few blocks removed from the spot where he began the practice of law shortly after graduation from Litchfield, Conn. I therefore feel it peculiarly incumbent upon me to undertake to portray some of those characteristics which marked him a national and international figure. It is not false modesty to say that the more I have studied his career the less I have felt equal to its proper portrayal.

In the narrow compass of this discourse I shall omit the recital of events of Mr. CALHOUN'S early life and of his service in the legislature of his native State. These belong to the domain of history and here would be nothing more than cumbering repetition. Nor may I attempt to enter into details in reviewing his service to the Republic, covering, as it does, a period of more than forty years. For the events of his life were not mere contributions to history; they were the well-spring of much of the history of that day, and gave color to all contemporaneous events. Mr. CALHOUN made history.

A marked characteristic of Mr. CALHOUN'S mind was his ability to read the future in the trend of the present. One is impressed with this in reading his speeches in the light of subsequent events. If we may pass any criticism on the quality of his mind, which measured so nearly up to perfection, it would be that he read his duty in the plain letter of reason, without due regard to external circumstances affecting it.

Candor compels the admission that in carrying his theories of government to a perfectly logical conclusion, a conclusion warranted in every detail by the Constitution of the United States, he developed latent forces, that with the gathering storm, could end only in the separation of North and South. Long before

he came into public notice, however, this storm was brewing. Heard first in subdued mutterings, it soon gathered with inky blackness about the national capital. He did not create the storm, but let his real friends not attempt to cover the true events of history; his logical mind, like the electric volt, did part and illumine the riven cloud.

Virginia, Kentucky, and the parties to the Hartford convention had vaguely outlined the right of a State, in the last extremity, to take measures for its own protection; but it was only through the clear irresistible logic of Mr. CALHOUN that men realized, however inexpedient or undesirable nullification might be, it was not inconsistent with the strict meaning of the original compact, and the Constitution based thereon. It is perhaps as well that force finally supplied the omissions in that instrument, for after all, the people are reunited, and the will of a united people is superior to any written instrument. But Mr. CALHOUN must be judged in the light of the written instrument, for sentiment was then about equally divided. The right of a State to nullify an unconstitutional act of Congress was made so plain in his speech on the Force bill, which we may remark in passing was his greatest speech, that the *North American Review*, a strong advocate of the federal doctrine, admitted "that Mr. CALHOUN had successfully maintained the point that the Constitution was a compact between the States," which admission conceded the pivotal point of his contentions, after which his other contentions followed in natural and logical sequence. Mr. Webster, under other circumstances, had spoken of the union of the States as a compact, of which fact Mr. CALHOUN reminded him, in replying to him later.

Mr. CALHOUN maintained in this speech and established, in so far as reason alone can establish, that the sovereign States, in their compact for protection and government, were bound

to the limit and in the strict terms of the Constitution, as ratified by the States; that the ratification was by the individual of the States and not by the individual of the Union; that the States through the Constitution granted to the Federal Government the right to raise revenue, which was a right conceded; that it also required all taxes to be uniform, which was a right retained. He maintained that the tariff act of 1828 levied the burden mainly on one section and distributed the proceeds mainly in another.

As this violated the reserved rights of the State, under the Constitution, that taxes should be uniform, he believed that it was subject to the State's veto. Just how far Mr. CALHOUN looked into the future of the unequal collection and partisan, as well as sectional, distribution of government revenue we can not know. We are rather of the opinion that he was combating the principle, and that he seized upon the tariff act of 1828 as illustrative of the trend of events. Certain it is that the question is still an open one that is no nearer solution by reason of one party domination.

No real student of history would seriously deny that Mr. CALHOUN took from the Constitution the fact of nullification and molded it into form. At this distance the error of his method of combating a public evil from the standpoint of expediency and public policy is palpable; his purpose, judged in the light of subsequent extortions from the people under that doctrine, just then taking root, seems to indicate almost prophetic foresight. The doctrine of nullification had its origin in the events following the tariff act of 1828. Then, as now, this question was the bone of contention between the two great political parties, Republican (now Democratic) and the Federalists.

In 1816 Mr. CALHOUN, though opposed to protective tariff, advocated a protective rate on wool, cotton, and iron, with the

avowed purpose of extinguishing a large war debt incurred in the war of 1812. He has been severely criticised for subsequently taking such strong ground against protective legislation as inconsistent with his former position. An impartial reading of his speech in advocacy of the act of 1816 lends no color to this charge. In this he justified excessive revenue rates on the ground that extraordinary demands were upon the Treasury in consequence of the war, and there was no danger for years of accumulating a surplus in the Treasury. A surplus he dreaded as inviting extravagance and waste. In this same speech he made a masterly argument advocating enlargement and increased efficiency of the navy. He pointed out the futility of this Government attempting to fortify the thousands of miles of its coast, maintaining that with a much less sum the navy could be so strengthened as to be effectual in defense. This, it is true, would have increased the public debt and would have entailed the collection of additional revenues, but the defense of the country by the most practical method was, to his mind, of first importance; even his favorite theories were subordinate to this. While in this speech he deprecated the necessity for the high tariff, he advocated a gradual reduction, in order not to destroy infant industries brought into existence and abnormally flourishing because of the exclusion of foreign goods during the war. While this, too, was contrary to his policy under ordinary circumstances, it goes to show that he was not radical in his views when dealt with fairly. But his plea was for necessary revenue and not protection, then as ever afterwards; his dread was of a surplus taken unlawfully from the pockets of the people, inviting wasteful, if not unlawful, appropriations.

Some have attributed his violent opposition to the tariff of 1828 to personal animosity toward General Jackson, then Presi-

dent. Of this number may be mentioned Mr. Benton, of Missouri. It would be well to remember that Mr. Benton and Mr. CALHOUN were not friends, and while the former would not misstate a fact, he would perhaps unduly color a circumstance.

As this is a notable period in the careers of both Mr. CALHOUN and President Jackson, it may not be amiss to review some of the facts leading up to their disagreement.

These men, since they were first associated in public life, had been fast friends. It is said that General Jackson's admiration for Mr. CALHOUN bordered on idolatry. Mr. CALHOUN, after a service of six years in the lower House, which was marked by the leading part he took in reporting the war resolution of 1812, and by other services of like import, had displayed such marked ability that, without his seeking, in December, 1817, even after his reelection to Congress, he was invited by Mr. Monroe, the newly elected President, to take a place in his Cabinet as Secretary of War.

A little digression here will serve to show that his great powers of analysis and generalization, the metaphysical characteristic of his mind, which some are pleased to assert rendered him impractical, were fully equaled by his capacity for business details. When he took charge of the War Department it was in utter confusion. There were outstanding debts of over \$40,000,000, in the nature of past-due claims, which he reduced during his administration to less than \$3,000,000. After a few months' observation of conditions, he drafted an entirely new set of regulations, reorganizing the entire department.

These regulations were practically unchanged for a quarter of a century. He found the annual cost per man, including officers in the service, more than \$451 per annum, and he left the cost less than \$287 per annum. When he came into office the annual expenditure on the army was \$4,000,000. He reduced this

\$1,300,000. And yet it is said that the army had never been better provided or paid. There is not an instance on record during his entire public career where he has advocated a parsimonious policy, but he dreaded wastefulness. So perfect was the system devised by him that he was able to report to Congress in 1823 that—

of the entire annual appropriation of money drawn from the Treasury for military service, including pensions amounting to \$4,571,961.94, although it passed through the hands of 291 disbursing officers, there has not been a single defalcation nor the loss of a single cent to the Government.

No mere theorist could have wrought such wonderful changes in that disorganized department.

But let us recur to the main point. It happened while Mr. CALHOUN held the position of Secretary of War that the Seminole Indians made frequent incursions into the territory of the United States, and General Jackson was sent to drive them into the interior of the Spanish possessions. It seems that the President and Mr. CALHOUN had secretly given General Jackson more latitude than they could consistently make public, and acting on this he had gone into the interior of the Spanish possessions and had seized and fortified several Spanish forts, which he claimed had sheltered the enemy. In this it is contended by some that he exceeded even his secret authority, and especially when he executed Arbuthnot and Ambrister, two English subjects. It is stated, it appears on very good authority, that in a Cabinet meeting Mr. CALHOUN advised that "he (Jackson) should be punished or reprimanded" for his conduct in this execution.

This circumstance was not known to General Jackson until after Mr. CALHOUN had served for one term as Vice-President, himself being President. There was never afterwards any friendship between them; but we can not agree with those who

believe that this incident accounts for Mr. CALHOUN's opposition to the protective system and the bold stand he ultimately took for states rights. The fact is it was scarcely possible for a man whose every act found its origin in a logical cause, as was the case with Mr. CALHOUN, to long agree with a man whose ideas, however correct, often originated in impulse, however well meant, and were executed with military promptness, as was the case with General Jackson. When President Jackson was elected the second time Mr. CALHOUN looked forward to this event for the reduction of duties, and so advised his friends; and it was only after disappointment in this quarter that he advised the nullification proceedings taken by his State.

Mr. CALHOUN never indulged in personal invective except in repelling an attack, and then he confined himself strictly to the record, and in language absolutely free of grossness. His attacks were on principles, not men. And while we have the greatest veneration for General Jackson as one of the noblest of South Carolina's sons, in the light of Mr. CALHOUN's entire career, which dealt with principles, not men, we can but conclude that his remark in the Cabinet was but the reluctant admission of his sense of right, affecting, as it did, even his friend. No one knows how much the expression was warped or its application changed. It was finally reported by an enemy of Mr. CALHOUN.

Whatever may have been the feeling of the President for Mr. CALHOUN, it is gratifying that he cherished no unkind feeling for the people of his native State, though arrayed with the Nation against the stand they had taken. Hear just this short extract from his memorable nullification proclamation:

Fellow-citizens of my native State, let me not only admonish you as the first magistrate of our common country, not to incur the penalty of its laws, but use the influence that a father would over his children whom he saw rushing to certain ruin

It must be acknowledged that, entertaining such contrary opinions as to the attitude of the State, his course was moderate. It is well worth remembering, however, that the State of South Carolina had attempted to settle the question at issue in the United States court and had been denied this redress by a resolution of Congress. Force was considered the safer way by the Nation, and so force was threatened. Here was a striking circumstance. South Carolina was at variance with the Nation; she contending for the right of the State to exercise its veto power, to set aside acts of Congress which she conceived to be unconstitutional. This claim was based on the contention that the union of the States was nothing more than a compact, agreed to by the citizens of the States as such, and not as individuals composing the Union; that their allegiance to the Union was binding no further than the rights conceded.

The Federalists contended that the Constitution was adopted by the people as a whole, through the States, and that the individual owed allegiance direct to the Federal Government, not through the States, and that the State had not the right to limit or specify the extent of that allegiance.

There can be little doubt that the question of states' rights was well founded in logic, and that it was set aside by force rather than by regular process through the courts. There is one consolation to the State, however, and that is that the controversy was raised and settled by her own sons.

There are those who, either through perverseness or misinformation, have questioned the fact that General Jackson was a native of South Carolina. For the benefit of such I can not refrain, even at the cost of breaking the connection here of my discourse, from inserting some facts gleaned from history.

Andrew Jackson, sr., was a Scotchman who lived in the north of Ireland. With his wife and two sons, Hugh and Robert, he

came direct from Ireland to Charleston, S. C., in 1765. Later he purchased a tract of land about 45 miles above Camden, S. C., which was known as the Waxhaw settlement, and here in South Carolina young Andrew Jackson was born March 15, 1767. It seems that these facts, coupled with his own statement, which has been quoted, should forever set this question at rest.

Mr. CALHOUN'S speech on the force bill was positively unanswerable. Mr. Webster undertook to reply to it, not by answering the argument, but by asserting a diametrically opposite view, which was at variance with his own opinion, previously expressed, which fact was noted by Mr. CALHOUN in his reply. Mr. CALHOUN'S reply to Mr. Webster was perhaps the most masterful speech of its kind ever delivered in the United States Senate. The contest was a contest of giants. The issue was the burning question of the day.

We have thought that as light appears brighter when enveloped in darkness, so the ability of these men was accentuated by a background of the uneducated masses at that time. In this we were in error. A careful study of their careers leads one to the conclusion that they would tower above the representative men of this Government at any stage of its development. The contest was a contest of the two sections of the United States, about equally divided as to population, and each voicing its sentiment through its ablest representative. Great was the question involved, and equally great the master minds, driven by opposing forces to solve it. It was a test between the broadsword of Richard and the scimitar of Saladin. Of the long career of these two men in the Senate, this was the single occasion recognized as a decisive engagement; and there can be no doubt that Mr. Webster's elegance of diction and force of eloquence, which he possessed as perhaps no other man ever possessed, went down before Mr. CALHOUN'S power of analy-

sis and his capacity to force a question irresistibly to its logical conclusion. This was admitted by the *North American Review*, a strong supporter of the federal doctrine, which then as now was ably edited. It was practically admitted by Mr. Webster himself, who, after Mr. CALHOUN's speech, "sat in sullen silence," and never attempted to reply. It was on this occasion that John Randolph, a past master in the art of sarcasm and invective, so feeble that he could hardly rise from his seat, said to some one near by: "Take away that hat; I want to see Webster die muscle by muscle."

As no account of Mr. CALHOUN's life work would be complete without reference to Mr. Webster, so would it be incomplete without reference to Mr. Clay. Undoubtedly he ranked with the greatest men of the Nation; but just here it is sufficient to say that he possessed more of the elements of the astute reasoner than Mr. Webster and more of the elements of the orator than Mr. CALHOUN, with perhaps less stability of purpose than either. He was a powerful speaker, and because of his superior capacity for organization he was perhaps the most formidable of the three as an antagonist.

While Mr. CALHOUN, Mr. Webster, and Mr. Clay were seldom all united on public issues, it is a little remarkable, if not amusing, that on a notable occasion the powers of the three were outwitted by a little by-play of politics, linked with "Old Hickory's" never-failing popularity with the people, right or wrong.

Resolutions offered by Mr. Clay had passed the Senate condemning the President for arbitrarily removing the government deposits from the National Bank. Mr. Benton, of Missouri, alone voted against the resolution. On three separate occasions afterwards Mr. Benton undertook to have the Senate expunge the resolution, but it would not hear to the proposition. While

Mr. CALHOUN never cordially supported the existing banking system, it had the sanction of Congress, and his respect for order and for the Constitution precluded his sanction of the act of President Jackson in arbitrarily removing by force the government deposits. He dreaded the crash in the financial system, but he dreaded more executive usurpation, however well meant. In this view he was cordially supported by both Mr. Clay and Mr. Webster.

Another turn was given to the affair. Friends of the President, knowing his great popularity with the people, had many of the States to instruct their Senators to vote for the expunging resolution. With this number to build on, Mr. Benton, by wining and dining and nursing a few who were weak-kneed, finally got together a majority. At the earliest possible hour it was determined that the work should be done. It was anticipated that a storm would be raised and that the three giants would undertake to speak the resolution to death. Mr. Benton prepared for this exigency. He provided one of the committee rooms with turkey, ham, and other inviting dishes, with plenty to wash them down. They prepared for a siege, and determined not to adjourn until the expunging resolutions had passed. As expected, Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, and Mr. CALHOUN all spoke with great feeling of the act that was about to be perpetrated, subordinating the legitimate authority of the Senate to the arbitrary power of the Executive. Mr. Clay's speech was a perfect masterpiece of its kind. But none of this counted against the ham and turkey and the small majority who had sworn to do their work before adjournment.

And so this array of logic, eloquence, and force went down at a late hour of the night before the tactics of the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. CALHOUN and Mr. Webster were personal friends throughout their public association, though they were separate "as far

as pole from pole" on vital public issues. Mr. CALHOUN and Mr. Clay in the beginning were members of the same political party, and while their views were not often seriously divergent on vital public questions, they had personal differences later in life, no doubt growing out of aspirations which each entertained to become President. There are storms in the higher as well as the lower atmospheres. Jealousy is the handmaid of ambition, and it is rare that the mistress enters the human heart alone. "A man's a man for a' that."

Was it a mere coincidence that these men, each a star of the first magnitude and each resplendent in his own sphere, should have risen at a critical period of the Nation's history, to light the way for the millions to a full understanding of the antagonistic principles which must eventually disrupt the Government and overturn existing institutions? Here was a colossal scene in drama of the universe. Amid the cold, bleak hills of New England a son was born, the greatest of American orators, and ere long he found his way to the center of the national stage. In his suite were millions of American people, clamoring for centralization of government and executive power. During the same calendar year, in the sunny South, that section which even yet has not felt the congestion of alien blood, another son was born, the greatest of American debaters. A little earlier than the first he found his way to the center of the national stage, and in his suite were millions of American people demanding equality of administration under the Constitution and recognition of the reserved rights of the component States. And then, from a State divided in sentiment as it was afterwards divided in actual secession, a State which had itself more than hinted at the doctrine of nullification, came a third son, whose position was also near the front and near the footlights. He entered along with the Southerner. As scene followed scene in

course, culminating in nullification and the force bill, a crisis was imminent. It was then that the great compromiser stepped between contending forces, and by astute statesmanship forced a truce. By him the climax was changed, but it took no prophet to see that the drama was soon to be rewritten in a nation's blood. The truce could not last. The cause was rooted in antagonistic principles of government, involving the destruction of institutions older than the Constitution itself; they were deeper than the thoughts and intents of men; they were taught in the schools and sanctioned in the church; they were imbibed with the mother's milk; they were in the blood, and could ultimately find settlement only in the shedding of that blood. Men's destinies were involved, but only as so many pawns under the master hand. For explanation of the purpose, the plan, the results, we have learned to look through the vista of marshaled events beyond the creature to the creature's God.

The scene has changed. Southern and northern blood, flowing in a common stream, has washed away forever the system of slavery, a system for which they were equally responsible, but for which only the South has paid, and over its ruins they have builded new systems, displaying industrial development that has astounded the world. But the principles that set in motion this destruction of systems have not changed. They are coterminal with the Government itself, the one tending toward centralization, monopoly, and imperialism; the other toward constitutional government and equality of privilege to the individual citizen. [Applause.]

MR. CALHOUN'S last speech in the Senate, which, contrary to his custom, he reduced to writing, and which because of his enfeebled condition was read by a colleague, will be, in the years to come, a beacon light calling all true Americans, without reference to section or party, from their mad lust for power to anchor again in the Constitution.

MR. CALHOUN loved the Union, but he loved a constitutional Union. If there was one feature more pronounced in nullification as a remedial measure than another it was that it was conservative of the Union. His last public utterance looked to the preservation of the Union by amendment to the Constitution and without bloodshed. "His devotion to the South was not sectional so much as it was the natural consequence of his views with reference to the theories of government." His championship of her interests was only for a child's just share of the maternal inheritance, strictly in accordance with the will. Hear this statement, the closing lines of his last speech, to which we have previously referred. Remember that at that very moment the hand of death was upon him; and divested of every earthly consideration, he spoke to his people North and South. He said:

Having faithfully done my duty to the best of my ability, both to the Union and my section, throughout the whole of this agitation, I shall have the consolation, let what will come, that I am free from all responsibility.

It has perhaps never occurred to the sectional partisan who has attributed traitorous motives to this greatest of American statesmen that a calm, unbiased consideration of his views, and their adoption in good faith by the Nation, might have averted that terrible struggle, involving the loss of countless lives and billions of property. The fact is overlooked that a constitutional union, such as was the dream of Mr. CALHOUN's life and to which he looked in every measure that he proposed touching this subject, is the only real union that could give each member of the family an equitable share in the common inheritance. Union and force are not compatible words. Instead of this Government now being a union of States, with each State retaining its proper degree of sovereignty, we are rapidly becoming a

Nation with few rights reserved to the States other than such as the Federal Government does not see fit to usurp. At a critical time in our history, when the sober judgment of the masses had not yet given place to passion, there lay before us two ways of finally adjusting our differences. One was through this body and the courts, which would have respected and adjusted property rights and preserved that comity of interest due between sovereign though united States. The other, conceived in mutual jealousies, fanned by hate, could but leave its trail of blood and carnage. To the everlasting credit of Mr. CALHOUN be it said that his great heart, filled with aspirations for the young Republic, and constant in devotion to the Union, sought solution in the way of peace. He saw the distant breakers, and had others been as astute the old ship might have been steered around them without loss of rigging or mutiny of her crew.

Mr. CALHOUN stood for government in accordance with the Constitution. In this, rather than in centralized wealth or imperialism, he believed reposed our strength and continuous existence. It may be said, and with some color of warrant, that in the early years of his public service he often yielded to what seemed to be for the public good without strict reference to the Constitution; but for the last twenty years of his life, his eye was ever on the Constitution, and no scheme, however promising, however enticing, could receive his sanction if, viewed in the light of that instrument, it reflected the slightest shadow.

We may but mention the branches of public service in which Mr. CALHOUN's talents were engaged. So prominent and so full of events were his services, in whatever capacity, that we must leave the recital of details largely to history. He served first in the House for six years, then as Secretary of War in the Cabinet of Mr. Monroe. He was elected Vice-President in 1824, and reelected. He was chosen United States Senator in December,

1832, and was reelected to succeed himself. Owing to the death of Mr. Upsher, Secretary of State in President Tyler's administration, Mr. CALHOUN was called to that position, which place he filled with eminent ability, being the leading spirit in the annexation of Texas. Shortly after retiring from the office of Secretary of State, he was again elected to the Senate, bringing his great talents into that body just in time to avert war with England and to make possible the peaceable annexation of Oregon in 1846. Here, in the arena best suited to his great talents, he died in his seventieth year, March 31, 1850.

While Mr. CALHOUN in the early part of his service belonged to the Republican (Democratic) party, he would not be bound to a party measure which his judgment could not fully accept. In advocating the war of 1812 his course was rather against the policy of his party, but the soundness of his views was afterwards developed. He opposed, almost alone in his party, the embargo, the nonimportation, and nonintercourse acts. Subsequent events justified, beyond question, the logic of his position. He opposed the banking plan of 1814-15, himself suggesting a plan containing many of the features of the present national banking system. He pointed out so clearly the fallacy of the system proposed and the utter folly of the Government borrowing its own credit from the bank that the measure, though a party measure, was defeated. But he was big enough and broad enough to divest a question of its party origin, and without selfish purpose, either for himself or for his locality, to view it with an eye single to the good of the whole people. It is often a dangerous policy for men of less ability to undertake to follow his example. If he was inconsistent in party allegiance, he was rarely inconsistent in party principles.

In personal appearance, Mr. CALHOUN was a striking figure. A lady traveling in this country, seeing him for the first time,

spoke of him as "the cast-iron man, who seemed never to have been born." No one ever saw him without having the impression that he was possessed of marked ability. His features in repose were irregular, but in debate his animation was such as to throw a light about his countenance. His eyes, a deep blue, large and brilliant, were most striking. In repose they glowed with a steady light, while in action they fairly emitted flashes of fire. If he had been endowed with less integrity of purpose and more policy, he could surely have been President. That great honor, we believe he laid down, because he would be the tool of no man and because its acceptance would have sacrificed principles, the establishment of which had consumed the greater part of his life. He possessed pride of character in a marked degree, and if anything, his pride of opinion was even more marked. He was firm and prompt, manly and independent. It may truly be said of him, that however radical he may have considered the views of another, he never attacked them, except in respectful language, and with cold logic. A cause that could not be maintained on this basis could not receive his sanction. At the time of Mr. CALHOUN'S death, admiration for his great qualities was not confined to the South. The legislatures of New York and Pennsylvania, in solemn assembly, passed resolutions deploring his death. Nor were they alone in this; men everywhere recognized his ability and conceded his honesty of purpose. But cruel war, carrying death into so many homes, left its prejudice in the minds of the people, and those who stood in the forefront of the events leading up to that war were marked for sectional hate. Men forgot the virtues of the great in the passions of the hour.

But may we not call from the past the testimony of his contemporaries? Can there be any question of the sincerity of Mr. Webster, or of his capacity to judge of his merits, when, after admitting their opposite views on principle, he said:

Mr. President, he had the basis, the indispensable basis of all high character, and that was unspotted integrity—unimpeached honor and character. If he had aspirations, they were high, honorable, and noble. There was nothing low or meanly selfish that came near the head or the heart of Mr. CALHOUN. Firm in his purpose, perfectly patriotic and honest, as I am sure he was, in the principles that he espoused and in the measures that he defended, aside from that large regard for that species of distinction that conducted him to eminent stations for the benefit of the Republic, I do not believe that he had a selfish motive or a selfish feeling.

Can there be any question of the sincerity of Mr. Clay, who, for personal reasons, had not sustained cordial relations with Mr. CALHOUN in the latter part of his life, when he said:

Sir, he has gone! No more shall we witness from yonder seat the flashes of that keen and penetrating eye of his darting through this Chamber. No more shall we be thrilled by that torrent of clear, concise, compact logic poured out from lips which, if it did not always carry conviction to our judgment, always commanded our great admiration. Those eyes and those lips are closed forever! And when, Mr. President, will that great vacancy which has been created by the event to which we are now alluding, when will it be filled by an equal amount of ability, patriotism, and devotion to what he conceived to be the best interest of his country?

Undoubtedly Mr. CALHOUN was one of the great men of this Nation. But men are judged, unfortunately, by the success or failure of their greatest undertaking. Judged from this point of view, the popular voice is against him. But there is philosophy in that line from Tennyson:

He makes no friends, who never made a foe.

The two most conspicuous figures—and those who will survive longest in the memory of mankind—of that great contest over the conflicting theories of our Government are JOHN C. CALHOUN and Abraham Lincoln. The achievements of Mr. Lincoln are viewed through the glamour of success and the halo of the martyr, while the cause for which Mr. CALHOUN labored—

the perpetuation of the Union as it came from the hands of the fathers—went down in defeat. Had Lincoln failed, he would have been censured by disinterested nations for the effort to subvert and suppress the constitutional rights of free States by force of arms; censured for invading and undertaking to destroy the property rights of a people in open violation of both the spirit and letter of the Constitution. Success threw a halo about these events, and prosperity, smiling upon the stricken land, aided by time, has done much to banish the sense of injuries suffered and to throw the mantle of charity over those scenes.

Notwithstanding defeat and disasters attended upon the work of CALHOUN, he continues to be regarded as the Aristotle of American politics; and with the mind of a seer and the heart of a hero he survives in the respect of his countrymen, wept, honored, and sung. His great compatriot and colaborer, Henry Clay, is immortalized by the sentiment he expressed, that he would rather be right than to be President. Mr. CALHOUN was right in principle, and the office of President could have added nothing to his renown.

It can not be that passion and sectional strife will hover even over the grave. When these have vanished and when we view Mr. CALHOUN merely as a citizen of our common country, we will learn to appreciate him at his true value and we will inscribe his name on the first page of the book of immortal memories. Nearly all the glory of ancient Greece that has survived "Decay's effacing fingers" may be summed up or narrated in the biography of her great men. The time will come in the history of our own country when our people, without reference to section or party, will cherish the memory of those of our great men who have risen as the tall oak from the level of the forest, and who, while standing more conspicuously

in the glow of public life, have likewise borne the greater shock and burden of the storms that swept the young Republic.

Mr. CALHOUN never attacked the Union, but, on the contrary, he always defended it. Whether or not his plans of preservation would have solved the problem, we do not know. We believe they were founded in a good purpose. Because he pulled the veil of the future further apart than any man of his time, actually foretelling the fratricidal strife that must follow the then unchanged current of events, some have come to think of him as the author of that struggle. So strikingly have events justified his forebodings that it is not strange that some, like the Israelites of old, have placed the origin of their troubles at the feet of the prophet pronouncing them.

Each setting sun dims the career of that public servant who has used his opportunities only as a means of advancement; but it is only in the afterglow of the centuries that the career of the unselfish patriot and statesman may be justly measured. These develop side lights that the passions of the present shut out. At this distance Aristides was never greater than when writing his own order of banishment on the voting shell of his fellow-countryman.

If Mr. CALHOUN hastened secession, he did it by no inconsistent or unconstitutional course. If he hastened secession, perhaps it was better than that the smoldering fires should have broken in greater fury from being longer pent up. If this Nation was to be convulsed, its domestic systems upturned, and a new and changed order of things inaugurated, some master mind, under the providence of God, had to give definite human shape to the plan of reversal. May he not have been the instrument?

It is a fitting tribute to the memory of that great man that his beloved State has set his statue here, beside those the

events of whose lives were interlaced with his. I feel as though we are giving him back to the Republic, after the mist of sectional prejudice has risen. His purity of life, his power and sublimity of thought, must find responsive appreciation in that higher sphere of American thought where the qualities of mind and heart are considered. I can but believe that the day is dawning when the Nation will again take him to her bosom; that she in truth welcomes his statue into the circle of those who in their lives molded and defended her, and who, standing here in enduring marble, will keep their silent vigil over her destinies throughout the coming ages. [Loud applause.]

Address of Mr. Finley, of South Carolina



MR. SPEAKER: Leaders of men are born, and not made; they are, however, developed by circumstances. It is impossible to think of Alexander the Great in any other capacity than as a leader of men. Nor is it conceivable that Hannibal and Napoleon might have been weaklings and followers, not leaders. As this is true of warriors, it is equally true of philosophers and statesmen. In the classic days of Greece and Rome it is said that it was a difficult matter to decide whether to accord more liberal praise and greater honor to her warriors or to her statesmen. In the history of nations we find that some men are indelibly stamped with genius and to a transcendent degree with the attributes of greatness; consequently they rise higher than their fellows, so much higher, in fact, that the number of the company and their competitors is very small. The history of the United States shows no exception to this rule. In the war of the Revolution there is no competitor of the great Washington. Probably the figure that will live longest and possibly in time rank highest in the second war of independence, that of 1812, is the hero of the battle of New Orleans, Andrew Jackson; in the Mexican war, Winfield Scott, although General Taylor, the conqueror of Santa Ana in the battle of Buena Vista, received his great reward, the Presidency, shortly afterwards; in the war between the States, General Grant on the one side and General Lee on the other; in the war with Spain, Admiral Dewey.

At the beginning of the Revolutionary war this country may be said to have literally teemed with great men—orators, philosophers, and statesmen. I remember, when a boy, reading of the great characters who conducted the Government during that bloody and trying period, what admiration and reverence I felt for those who constituted the Continental Congress. As a man of letters and statesman, Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, easily the first, but along with him a host of others, who, in point of patriotism and ability, were entitled to sit beside him in a congregation of great men. After the war the 13 Colonies found themselves in a most distracted and impoverished condition. The Colonies by cooperation and force of all against Great Britain won, yet in the treaty of peace with the mother country the acknowledgment was made separately for each, and when the war was over we had 13 separate and independent sovereignties of what had been the 13 Colonies, and which by the treaty of peace had been acknowledged as independent sovereign States. It is true there was a nominal coalition between all the Colonies, but the action of the federation was not binding on any of the 13 without the voluntary consent of the individual State. This was followed by an effort to bring about a closer and more perfect union between the States, and resulted in the convention which framed the Constitution in 1787. After its adoption by three-fourths of the States, the young Nation, or “federation,” as it was then called by many, claimed for itself a place in the family of nations. For many years, on account of the conditions brought about by the war of the Revolution, the United States found itself beset by difficulties on every hand.

The debts of the States and Nation were enormous, considering the ability to pay. The Constitution was little understood by the average citizen, and the obligations imposed by it were to a

large extent little regarded by the people. It has been erroneously asserted so often and for so long a time that JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, of South Carolina, was the author of the doctrine of nullification, which resulted later in the assertion of the right of secession, that to-day this error is a matter of common belief among the people of this country. As a matter of fact, he was not the author of the doctrine of nullification.

From the first there were two parties in this country. While it is true that both claimed and practiced allegiance to Washington during the two terms he was President, this homage was personal rather than political. Even in his day the division was sharp between the two parties, and it required all of his great influences to keep the peace even in his official family. Some idea of this can be conjectured by considering how impossible of agreement on practically all great questions there was to be had between Jefferson and Hamilton. The former a Democrat of the strictest school, believing with all his heart in the necessity and justice of a republican form of government with the people the source of all power, and Hamilton believing in reality that a limited monarchy was the best form of government even for this country. The formation of two great parties was not only to be expected, but was a matter of necessity—the one to assert, the other to combat. First, the Federal party in power, with John Adams as second President, elected in 1796. The Federalist party, amongst other laws that were objectionable to the followers of Jefferson and many who were not, passed the alien and sedition laws. The passage of these laws laid the foundation that resulted in events which terminated in the first declaration of the doctrine of nullification of a federal law by a State being advanced, and this as a natural sequence resulted later on in the doctrine of secession being advocated.

On November 16, 1798, the State of Kentucky, through its legislature, on account of opposition to these and other federal laws, passed a resolution signed by the governor and attested by the secretary of state embodying the principles of nullification.

In the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, by Warfield (p. 76), it is declared:

That whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorized, void, and of no force; That to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself the other party: That the Government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.

And in the third resolution (p. 78) it is declared:

That therefore the act of the Congress of the United States passed on the 14th day of July, 1798, entitled "An act in addition to the act for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," which does abridge the freedom of the press, is not law, but is altogether void and of no effect.

And in the fourth resolution (p. 79) it is declared:

"An act concerning aliens," which assumes power over alien friends not delegated by the Constitution, is not law, but is altogether void and of no force.

The third of the Virginia resolutions, passed in 1798, writings of James Madison (vol. 6, p. 345), is as follows:

That this assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in cases of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States who are parties thereto have

the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities rights, and liberties appertaining to them.

These are plain declarations that an act of Congress, which assumes power over a subject-matter not delegated to it by the Constitution, is null and void. It was for a long time claimed, and I believe has been finally settled, that Jefferson was the author of the original draft of the Kentucky resolutions, and also that Henry Clay was his willing disciple. These resolutions were transmitted to the various States. In the house of delegates of Virginia these resolutions were the work of James Madison.

Of course it has been denied time and again that the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions form any basis whatever for the doctrine of nullification, afterward set up by CALHOUN. The reading of the resolutions, however, show conclusively that these resolutions declare certain acts of Congress null and void.

And in the case of the Virginia resolutions the claim is distinctly made that the States have the right and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil. CALHOUN's view was that one State might interpose for this purpose. The passage of the embargo act and other acts in restraint of commerce, prohibiting foreign shipments during the latter part of Mr. Jefferson's second administration on account of the high-handed and unwarranted acts of Great Britain in seizing our merchantmen and imprisoning American sailors on the high seas was a very unpopular law in New England. As a result of this, when persons were arrested and tried for a violation of the embargo act in one of the New England States, notwithstanding the fact that the law had been held to be constitutional by a United States district court, the plea was made to the juries that the act was unconstitutional and the defendants were found not guilty on this ground. Here was a practical nullification of an act of Congress in a court of law.

It is a well-known historical fact that during this period, and also during the continuance of the war of 1812, during which time the Hartford convention was held, the doctrine was preached and concurred in by a large number of the Federalist party that the time had come for the separation of New England from the other States. The war of 1812 was very unpopular throughout New England, and separation or secession was largely advocated. In fact, the right of a sovereign State to secede was conceded up to 1828 by a majority of the people in this country. It is true that John Quincy Adams did not hold to this view, and it is also true that Andrew Jackson, during his second administration, most emphatically denied that a State had a right to secede from the Union. I have stated these facts in order to show that CALHOUN was not the author of the doctrine of nullification. He was never at any time a secessionist, and this leads up to what may be properly termed a historical sketch of his life.

Born March 18, 1782, in Abbeville district, South Carolina. His parents, Patrick and Martha Caldwell Calhoun, were both of Scotch descent. From this fact may be explained his main characteristics—his severity, lack of humor, and rather dogmatic opinions. These characteristics are strikingly illustrated in the later years of his life. The clear, consistent logic by which he arrived at conclusions and the intensity of convictions with which he supported them are the main elements which constituted his strength and character of statesmanship.

His early views were no doubt largely influenced by his father, Patrick Calhoun, who was a Whig before and during the Revolution of the most ardent type, and very self-opinionated in his views. His rough frontier life had inculcated in him an unquenchable desire for liberty and a feeling of opposition to anything tending in the least toward curtailing that liberty. It is

related of Patrick Calhoun that, some thirty years before his death, the right of himself and neighbors to vote being denied by the low country, he and his neighbors shouldered their rifles and marched to within 23 miles of Charleston, when the right to vote was not only accorded to them, but Patrick Calhoun was elected a member of the colonial legislature, and as such served for thirty years thereafter.

Much of this feeling his son imbibed and retained all through his life. Up to the age of 13 Mr. CALHOUN'S only education was what he had been able to pick up and to learn from his father and mother. At this time he was placed under the care of his brother-in-law, Doctor Waddell, a Presbyterian minister, who maintained an academy in Columbia County, Ga. Here he remained for a year, when the death of his father took place; and upon the subsequent death of his sister, a few months later, Doctor Waddell discontinued his school, and the boy's education was for the time at an end. His mother brought him back to the plantation in Abbeville district, where he remained for four years engaged in out-of-door pursuits. The time was not lost, however, for he was building up the frame that was to support his massive brain through a long public service. When he was 18 years of age, at the instance of his older brother, James, he again resumed his studies and returned to Doctor Waddell, who reopened his academy.

Here were educated some of the greatest Carolinians of their time, such as George McDuffie, Hugh S. Le Gare, and James Louis Petigru. Doctor Waddell was a teacher of most unusual force and ability, and has well been called "Father of classical education in Georgia and the upcountry of South Carolina." The progress made by Mr. CALHOUN was so rapid that in two years he entered Yale College and two years later graduated with distinction. After leaving Yale Mr. CALHOUN studied law

under Judge Gould and Mr. Reeve, two eminent jurists of Litchfield, Conn., and after a year of study returned to South Carolina, where he read law in the office of Mr. Dessausure and was admitted to the bar in 1807. He entered upon a very lucrative practice in Abbeville district, and no doubt his great talents would have attained for him a high degree of distinction, but politics and not the law held for him the only goal worth striving for and he early entered the service of his country.

At a public meeting held in Abbeville district in 1807 Mr. CALHOUN was appointed to draw up a set of resolutions condemning the action of the English frigate *Leopard* in firing on the American frigate *Chesapeake*, and so well was his work performed that he was asked to address the meeting. He did so with such credit to himself that in the next election he was sent to the state legislature at the head of the ticket. Here his public life begins, and from this time until his death is coincident with the history of his country. He immediately came into public notice by a very able speech which he made against the renomination of George Clinton as the party candidate for Vice-President of the United States. He served with distinction in the general assembly for two sessions, and so highly were his services esteemed that in the election of Members for the Twelfth Congress, in which selection was made chiefly with a view to the approaching war with Great Britain, Mr. CALHOUN was demanded as a candidate, and in 1810 was elected and took his seat in the National House of Representatives. The period was one of the most critical in the country's history. War was but a few months off and as yet no one was ready for it. The President was striving strenuously for peace and Congress was a disunited body of factions, each cutting the other's throat and at variance as to what was the proper course to pursue. The chief source of power lay in the House, and here were gathered the greatest

minds from all over the country. Henry Clay, at the age of 34, was Speaker of the House, and as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee he appointed Langdon Cheves, of South Carolina, who was only a year older than himself. William Lowndes, also of South Carolina, and at the time only 29 years of age, was chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and CALHOUN, 29 years old also, was given the second place in the Committee on Foreign Relations.

In 1814 Langdon Cheves became Speaker upon the withdrawal of Clay to go upon his mission abroad, and CALHOUN became chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations. We can see the preponderance of power which South Carolina wielded at this time in Congress. The voice of no other State in the Union was of greater weight in the counsels of the Nation. In speaking of the able men assembled at this time, Henry Clay, in his eulogy on CALHOUN, said:

In all the Congresses with which I have had any acquaintance since my entry into the Federal Government, in none, in my opinion, has been assembled such a galaxy of eminent and able men as were those Congresses which declared the war and which immediately followed the peace.

CALHOUN's first effort in the House was on December 11, 1811, just a month after taking his seat, and whatever doubts his friends may have entertained as to how he would bear himself in his new sphere of action were immediately dispelled. He spoke in defense of the resolutions emanating from his committee by which immediate preparations for war were recommended.

It was the enthusiastic speech of a young man, full of fire and national patriotism, calling his country to arms. His speech was in the nature of a reply to that of the eloquent John Randolph, who had condemned the policy outlined in the resolutions. Mr. CALHOUN's maiden effort was enthusiastically received, not only by the House, but by the whole country, and

he was immediately brought into prominence. In a House the leadership of which was vested in the young men, he was at once assigned a place of great prominence. Even at this juncture he was hailed as "one of the master spirits who stamp their names upon the age in which they live."

In the main, Mr. CALHOUN was a supporter of the administration. Republican principles were deeply ingrained within him, but he was not bound by any political ties. He relied upon his judgment, and when that differed from the course of his party he always obeyed the dictates of his conscience. He early acquired a reputation for fearlessness and sincerity of conviction that never left him. He was broad in his outlook and always considered the interests of the whole country. In his own words, found in his first speech, he said:

I am not here to represent my own State alone. I renounce the idea, and I will show by my vote that I contend for the interests of the whole people of this community.

The young men leaders of the House were in favor of the war, and after six months' time, during which the country had sanctioned their policy, they waited upon the President and declared that they were ready for war.

Accordingly on the 1st of June the President sent his war message to Congress. It was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which CALHOUN was temporarily in charge, and on June 3 he reported the recommendation of the committee that war be declared. This famous document was very long and presented one of the strongest cases against Great Britain ever written. A year later, on June 16, 1813, he made a speech in defense of the war measure, which has been pronounced "the strongest defense it ever received." He bitterly denounced the Federalists as being unpatriotic and selfish. It was not their country's welfare they were seeking, he said, but her harm, and he severely criticised them for their attitude in wishing to stop

the war. Nevertheless upon occasions when he thought the policy of the Federalists better in other matters he did not hesitate to vote with them. In the matter of the remission of dues on goods imported before the declaration of war he voted with the Federalists and made a strong speech in favor of remitting the dues. The question had become almost one of party importance, but Mr. CALHOUN and Mr. Cheves both took the broader view that whatever was against the spirit of the law was wrong, and the confiscation of goods amounting to millions of dollars and the property of a large class of citizens was certainly never intended when the law governing the case was passed. Neither did he think that a compromise should be made and the goods made to become a forced loan to the Government. Either the law should be complied with and the goods confiscated or the duties should be remitted entire; there could be no middle ground.

The result of his speech in favor of remitting the tax on these goods, together with that of his colleague, Mr. Cheves, was sufficient to carry the measure, and the forfeiture was remitted upon condition that the customary war duties on the goods should be paid.

This is only one instance, however, in which Mr. CALHOUN showed his courage in adhering to his convictions rather than party ties. He, along with his distinguished colleagues, Mr. Cheves, Mr. Lowndes, and Mr. Clay, advocated an increase in the navy—a policy the soundness of which later generations have approved and followed. This, too, was opposed by the great majority of the Republican party, and it took great courage to vote against that organization at a time when party spirit was at its highest point. This broader view of things and loyalty to his convictions is characteristic of CALHOUN throughout, and can be shown in many instances later in his life. His position, too, at this time was almost unparalleled—a young

man with almost no legislative experience, he was thrust at the head of the most important committee in the House, and to his judgment were left questions of national scope and importance. It was under circumstances like these that he dared to go contrary to the older leaders of his party, but so well did he support his views and sustain himself that he not only merited nothing of blame, but acquired great honor and reputation from the way in which he discharged his duties.

In two or three other very important measures he differed from the policy of his party and succeeded in carrying out his views. To the restrictive policy of the administration he was violently opposed. Mr. CALHOUN saw that the time was ripe for the repeal of the embargo, and accordingly introduced a bill to that effect. This, by reason of his strong arguments supporting it, passed.

At the beginning of the next session, 1814-15, he opposed the bill which his party advocated for the establishment of a national bank. His objection to it was that it was intended only to give aid to the Government through its ability to borrow money, and he also opposed the bill introduced by Daniel Webster as a substitute. Another bill was introduced by the administration, but this, too, failed of passage by the timely arrival of the treaty of peace, on the day of its third reading. CALHOUN had been widely criticised for his opposition to the bill, but his wisdom now became apparent, and the country was saved from being committed to a policy ruinous to its interests. At the next session, in recognition of his ability to handle financial affairs, CALHOUN was placed at the head of the Committee of the Currency. He now framed and successfully carried through a bank bill which provided for the establishment of a federal bank and regulated the disordered currency.

He was much gratified at the successful outcome of the war, in that he, as much as anyone else in Congress, had been instrumental in precipitating it. The tariff bill of 1816, introduced by Mr. Lowndes, was heartily approved by him, and while he has been credited with its introduction, and even called the author of the "protective system," nothing is further from the truth. He was in full sympathy with it, but was engaged with his own bill on the establishment of a bank, and made only an offhand speech in favor of the new tariff.

He did, however, take an active and prominent part in the effort for construction of a system of roads and canals by the Central Government. This policy was recommended to Congress by Mr. Madison, and in December, 1816, Mr. CALHOUN introduced a bill, in which it was provided that the profits of the United States Bank should be devoted to these improvements. This bill was passed by Congress, but was vetoed by the President as being unconstitutional. Mr. CALHOUN later changed his views. This was among the last important congressional efforts of Mr. CALHOUN in the House of Representatives. Upon a summary of his work in the House, completed in six short years and at one of the most trying periods of the country's history, we find a summary of it to be: He was highly instrumental in bringing on the war, and in this he was right. Had the Federalists been given free rein the country would have continued to submit to outrages and a feeling of disaffection engendered for a government which so poorly conducted affairs. There would have grown up a party within the Union which would have split the country, and possibly a part of it fallen again the prey of Great Britain. In this policy of the war he was preeminently right. He opposed the embargo, and in this he was right. He secured the establishment of a banking system which rescued the country from ruin and placed

financial matters on a firm basis. He advocated a programme of naval extension which later generations have approved and followed.

Finally he proposed the construction by the Government of canals and roads, and in this he permitted an intense nationalism to commit him to a policy which he later repudiated.

So, that out of five great measures advocated by Mr. CALHOUN, four have proven uncontrovertibly right, although at the time some of these were opposed even by his own party. In this light the work of the young statesman must seem remarkable; such judgment and ability to prosecute his ideas showed, even at this early period, that he was a statesman of broad vision and qualified to exercise a potent influence on the country's history.

The second period of Mr. CALHOUN's political activity began in December, 1817, when, upon the organization of his administration, Mr. Monroe offered him the post of Secretary of War. Mr. CALHOUN accepted this position much against the wishes of his friends in Congress, who thought his powers legislative rather than executive, and advised him against entering a field of activity in which success seemed so doubtful. The War Department was in the greatest disorder.

Mr. CALHOUN's knowledge of military affairs was very limited, and it seemed unlikely that with his inexperience he could bring order out of chaos. Nevertheless he determined to accept the position. So well did he master the difficulties of his new situation that at the end of three months he brought forward a bill, which he himself had drawn up, providing for a complete reorganization of the department, and though the bill had considerable opposition he succeeded in getting it through Congress. He formulated a system by which the department was to be governed by bureaus, and so well did his

system work that with changes it has been maintained up to the present day. He aided the President in the selection of heads for each of these bureaus, and further drew up a code of rules for the department which were productive of great efficiency in his subordinates. The unliquidated debts in the War Department when he assumed control amounted to \$40,000,000; he reduced them to less than three million in a comparatively short time. The annual expenses of the department he reduced from \$4,000,000 to \$2,500,000 without reducing the pay of the men in the army or in the matter of supplies. He established an efficient basis for the Military Academy at West Point and secured proper legislation for its enlargement and reorganization. He had made an accurate survey of the frontier, and planned a scheme embracing a line of coast defense, but this plan was thwarted by politicians. Another measure which was inaugurated by Mr. CALHOUN, and has since been widely copied, especially by England, is the order which he gave to all surgeons of the United States Army stationed at military posts over the country to report to the department all diseases, their treatment, changes of the temperature, moisture, and winds. The result has been a large collection of very important data regarding this phase of our country's development.

The credit for this very enlightened policy must always go to Mr. CALHOUN. So completely and ably did he reorganize his department that General Bernard, who was chief of the board of engineers under Mr. CALHOUN and had been on the staff of the great Napoleon, declared that the executive ability of Mr. CALHOUN was fully equal to that of his former chieftain. This was a very high compliment to Mr. CALHOUN's administration as Secretary of War, and is an indication of the efficiency with which he discharged the duties of the office. It was during his second term of office as Secretary of War that his name was

placed in nomination for the Presidency. There were before the people six candidates for the office—Mr. Adams, Mr. William H. Crawford, General Jackson, Mr. Clay, Mr. William Lowndes, and Mr. CALHOUN. The rather unusual spectacle was presented of two friends from the same State being placed in nomination and still continuing a very warm friendship. Mr. Lowndes was nominated by the legislature of South Carolina and Mr. CALHOUN by his friends in Pennsylvania, neither gentleman being aware of the fact until their nominations had been made. Within a year, in the prime of life and the midst of great usefulness, Mr. Lowndes died, and upon the nomination of General Jackson, Mr. CALHOUN, foreseeing that he could not be elected, withdrew his name from the race and permitted himself to be nominated for the Vice-Presidency. He was elected by a very large majority, and on March 4, 1825, took the oath of office as Vice-President along with John Quincy Adams, who had been elected to the first place.

Why Mr. CALHOUN permitted himself to be removed from an active participation in events has never been fully determined. Possibly because of the proximity of the office to that of President. However, no Executive had died during his term of office, and it was always the great desire of Mr. CALHOUN's life to become President, and when he saw that the candidates in public life were cutting each others' throats, no doubt he thought more advantage might come from his withdrawal from the arena for a few years. Be that as it may, he accepted the office and his duties as presiding officer of the Senate, which duties, contrary to the custom of the time, he was scrupulous to perform. The principal incident of his term of office was the rather remarkable correspondence which he carried on with the President through the columns of the newspapers. Several Senators were never careful as to the violence

of their language in attacking the administration, and as Mr. CALHOUN thought it out of his province to call them to order, the President indulged in a series of very bitter denunciations directed against the Vice-President, to which Mr. CALHOUN replied with equal vigor. The result was a drawn battle. The Senate passed a rule authorizing the presiding officer to call to order a Senator for words spoken on the floor; thus Mr. Adams gained his point. Nevertheless, the Senate deemed it necessary to make this rule giving the Vice-President the power; so it was evident that the power had not existed prior to the rule, and in this Mr. CALHOUN was also justified.

CALHOUN was very strongly in favor of the election of General Jackson as Mr. Adams's successor, and was again placed second on the ticket as the party's nominee for Vice-President. His reason for favoring General Jackson was that he believed the general in sympathy with the people of South Carolina (his native State) and the other States who were being ruined by the high protective tariff then in force and were equally desirous of its reduction. The tariff of 1824 was a great advance over that of 1816, which Mr. CALHOUN had aided in passing and which was a matter of indifference to the then prosperous people of South Carolina. In 1824, when the tariff bill was passed by Congress, the legislature of South Carolina passed a resolution to the effect that the bill was contrary to the Constitution and an unwarrantable exercise of federal power. The industries of the State were languishing, the income of the State was being each year diminished, and its citizens impoverished. It was impossible that a people should favor a tariff which brought about such conditions. No people ever yet courted economic ruin, and it was to be expected that their representatives would share their feelings.

The products of the Northern States were protected, and those States were growing prosperous under a policy which threatened the ruin of the South. Naturally the South was indignant, and demanded the reduction of a tariff which favored only one section of the country. South Carolina had protested against the tariff of 1824 as injurious to the industries of the State and therefore unconstitutional; but when, in 1827, a still higher tariff was proposed it was felt that something must be done. Up to this time CALHOUN had remained somewhat neutral, but now he took his first decisive step and cast in his lot with the antitariff party. Feeling at this time in South Carolina was very intense. Led by Doctor Cooper, president of the South Carolina College, a party was being formed which was strongly antitariff in character. Doctor Cooper was a man of great learning, ability, and influence. He was pronounced by Thomas Jefferson to be the "greatest man in America," and by John Quincy Adams "a learned, ingenious, scientific, and talented madcap." Doctor Cooper addressed an antitariff meeting held in Columbia, and in 1824 wrote a pamphlet in which he said that the action of Congress in passing a tariff act so injurious to a large section of the country was "calculated to bring on the dangerous inquiry," Was the South benefited by being in the Union, which used her only as a tributary to another section of the country? Public sentiment was rapidly crystallizing in South Carolina, and CALHOUN was forced by necessity to take a stand upon this issue.

In 1828 the tariff known as the "tariff of abominations" was passed, and feeling in South Carolina was brought to a high pitch. When asked what should be done, CALHOUN frankly said that no relief could be expected from Congress. He counseled moderation and placed his hopes in the election of General Jackson, who, he thought, could and would be able to bring

about a reduction of duties to a revenue standard. Should this change of administration not give the desired relief, only one course appeared to be open, and that was the interposition by the State of the veto. This, however, was a last resort and to be used only in a case of the greatest emergency. CALHOUN had not yet mapped out his programme nor had he come to a conclusion as to the proper method of dealing with this question. When Congress adjourned on May 26, 1828, he returned to his home in Pendleton, where he spent the summer in an exchange of ideas with the leading men of the State. In July he was not a nullifier, but by October he had come to a conclusion. He had worked out his theory and from now on his life was devoted to this single aim—the successful establishment of this theory. Meanwhile the legislature of 1828–29 was about to convene. Propositions to call a state convention were coming thick and fast, and this would mean violent measures, for the action of such a convention could readily be foreseen. As a check to such a movement, the committee on federal relations, led by William C. Preston, who was afterwards a Member of the United States Senate, reported a document, which had been obtained from CALHOUN. This document contained the theory he had recently worked out as to the nature of the trouble and the remedy that should be applied. It was the great exposition of 1828.

The legislature at once had 5,000 copies printed and distributed and gave to it the title of "The South Carolina Exposition and Protest on the Subject of the Tariff." It became the platform upon which all future action in South Carolina was based, and was to the now distracted State a document almost inspired. From now on CALHOUN's position is defined and his purpose fixed. For just a moment let us see what his true sentiments were.

The following statement is given in Jenkin's Life:

First. He believed that the Federal Constitution was a compact adopted and ratified by and between the States in their sovereign capacity as States.

Second. That the General Government contemplated and authorized by this Constitution was the mere agent of the States in the execution of certain delegated powers in regard to the extent of which the States themselves were the final judges.

Third. That when the reserved powers were infringed by the General Government or the delegated powers abused, its principals, the States, possessed the right of state interposition or nullification; otherwise, there would be no remedy for any usurpation of the reserved or abuse of the delegated powers.

Mr. CALHOUN'S theory as outlined above was based directly upon the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, although he carried his theory further than these resolutions.

The Kentucky and Virginia resolutions were called forth by the passage through Congress of the obnoxious acts known as the alien and sedition laws. The alien law gave the President power to remove from the country or to imprison any alien he deemed a dangerous or treasonable person, thus conferring upon him despotic power. The sedition law provided that anyone should be imprisoned who should "write, print, utter, or publish" anything detrimental to the Government—either House of Congress or the President. These two remarkable acts appeared to be only the first steps toward a complete centralization of power. It was against such laws as these that the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions were directed. The Virginia resolutions declared that in the States alone lay the right of interference whenever the powers reserved by them were endangered, and that they had the right to maintain "within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and

liberties appertaining to them." This stated very clearly the attitude of Virginia on the question, but even more definite were the Kentucky resolutions, as written by Mr. Jefferson.

Such was the text of the Kentucky resolutions as drawn up by Jefferson, and so clearly did they conform to the view later and independently promulgated by CALHOUN as to be the basis for his doctrine of nullification. These alone, with the report of Mr. Madison on the Virginia resolutions mentioned above, were taken by the States Rights party as the foundation for their doctrine. Their opponents denied the construction placed upon these documents and also that the Kentucky resolutions emanated from Mr. Jefferson. This last became a point of great importance and was not settled until March 13, 1832, when Mr. Ritchie, the editor of the Richmond Enquirer, published a statement that in some papers of Mr. Jefferson were found two copies of the Kentucky resolutions in his own handwriting, which appeared to be the original draft. Such, then, was the foundation upon which Mr. CALHOUN based his theory, and it would seem very difficult of contradiction. The construction he placed upon them was that the Central Government, including Congress, was a creature of the States and the Constitution only a compact between them; that any assumption of powers by Congress which had not been delegated by the States was an infringement of the compact; and the States, being the supreme authors of the compact, were the ones to pass judgment upon the matter.

Nothing in the way of statement could be more explicit, and from this CALHOUN derived the authority for his construction of the Constitution. In essence his conviction was this: The Constitution was made for the States, not the States for the Constitution; the Government was made for the people, not the people for the Government. His argument is beautifully clear in all respects. In 1843, about fifteen years after the famous

exposition of 1828, in which he laid down the platform for his future conduct, he began to embody his views of government and construction of the Constitution in a treatise to which he gave the name of *A Disquisition on Government*. Following this, he started *A Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*, which, however, owing to his death in 1850, was never finished. The underlying principle of the *Disquisition on Government* is that government by the majority always results "in despotism on the minority unless each class or community in the State has a check upon the acts of the majority."

He says that—

Each, in consequence, has a greater regard for his own safety or happiness than of others; and, where these would come in opposition, is ready to sacrifice the interests of others to his own.

So that it is only in the natural course of events that the party in power would continue a tariff which, though ruinous to the interest of the minority, is beneficial to them. To give some protection to the minority, he considers a check of some sort necessary; and from where can this come but from the States themselves? In this way he justifies nullification, and cites as a precedent the sentiments embodied by Jefferson in the Kentucky resolutions. Such, in brief, is the CALHOUN doctrine, to the furtherance of which the great nullifier devoted the remainder of his life.

But to resume the narrative of events: In December, 1829, the first message of President Jackson to Congress gave no hope to the enemies of the tariff in South Carolina; nor did succeeding events give more than a flickering ray of hope, which served only by disappointment to intensify the feeling. The State saw that nothing could be expected by a permanent distribution of the surplus revenue, made possible by a perpetual pro-

protective tariff, and this, too, when the only necessity for such a tariff was the selfish interests of the party in power. Therefore the States Rights party in South Carolina determined on action. The election was conducted upon the great issue of whether the States Rights or Union party should obtain the necessary majority in the house. It was required that two-thirds of the members of the legislature must vote for the calling of a convention, and in the election more than this number were returned to the house by the States Rights party. Accordingly a convention of the State was called, which, on November 24, 1832, passed the ordinance of nullification, accompanied by an address to the people of South Carolina and also to their co States, setting forth the reason for their action.

The time was one of great excitement and the termination of events very uncertain. A vacancy was made in the Senate by the resignation of General Hayne to become governor of South Carolina, and Mr. CALHOUN was elected by the legislature to fill that position. His task was one of the greatest difficulty. Deserted by all his former political friends, he and the State of South Carolina stood alone. Surrounded on all sides by enemies, threatened with treason and military subjection by a hostile President, isolated on all sides, he stood to fall or rise with his State. His journey to Washington was one of mingled feelings. Great crowds gathered to see him pass, and when he entered the Senate Chamber it was crowded with curious and eager spectators. Many expected immediate arrest, and all were curious to see how he would conduct himself. He soon fulfilled their expectations by a resolution calling upon the President to lay before the Senate the ordinance of nullification, and in this way the matter was brought under consideration. It was understood by Mr. CALHOUN that President Jackson would in two or three days' time send to the Senate a message on the

subject, but when CALHOUN entered the Chamber the next day and found the Secretary of the Senate reading a communication from the Chief Executive it was a great surprise and found him unprepared. Nevertheless, at its conclusion, he arose, and in a vigorous and very creditable speech replied to the message. The message was referred to the Committee on Judiciary, which soon reported a bill giving the President greatly increased powers as to money and men. It empowered him to employ force in the execution of the tariff law, and was known in history as the force bill. In other words, it brought matters to a crisis. In reply CALHOUN offered three resolutions:

1. That the States were parties to the Constitution and the Union as separate sovereignties.

2. That they had delegated certain defined powers and no more to the Federal Government, and when powers not delegated were exercised the acts were null and void, the judges of the infraction being the parties to the compact.

3. That the idea that the people of the United States formed a nation was a present and historical fallacy.

If the Senate had admitted the truth of the resolutions, CALHOUN would have made good his justification of nullification. However, the Senate would not consent to a consideration of the resolutions, and after tabling them proceeded to a discussion of the force bill. The debate was well conducted on both sides, but the titanic battle was between Webster and CALHOUN. Mr. CALHOUN was forced to open up the duel, which he did in an able and masterly manner, avoiding, however, a discussion of anything but the most general principles embodied in the resolutions, in order that he might have an opportunity of replying to Webster. That gentleman followed him in the debate on the force bill, and with characteristic ability went into an investigation of the principles and the Government's foundation,

defending his view with consummate skill, and sharply attacking Mr. CALHOUN's position. At Mr. CALHOUN's request the Senate appointed a day on which he was to reply to Mr. Webster, and accordingly, on February 15, he arose to make the greatest effort of his life. He spoke for two hours, and stream after stream of relentless logic flowed from his lips, perfect in its consistency and logic. He defended his own and his State's positions, and more than fulfilled his friends' highest expectations. The following is a condensed portion of his speech:

South Carolina—

He said—

had not claimed a right to annul the Constitution, nor to resist laws made in pursuance of the Constitution, but those made without its authority. She claimed no right to judge of the delegated powers of the Constitution, but of the powers which were expressly reserved to the respective States. The reservation was against the United States, and extended, of course, to the judiciary, as well as to the other departments of the Government. He defended himself from the charge of having been a protectionist in 1816. The tariff then adopted had been primarily a revenue measure, framed with reference to the need of reducing the public debt.

He goes on to explain the errors of the bill, and asks if by this one act he had forever committed himself to a policy which had been extended into a system of oppression, by which one section of the country was prospering at the expense of another. He continued with an analysis of the tariff, and concluded with an exposition of the Constitution.

The speech will undoubtedly rank as one of the greatest efforts in history, and surpassed any speech previously or subsequently made by Mr. CALHOUN.

In the duel of words which followed between Mr. CALHOUN and Mr. Webster much eloquence was evinced on both sides. With the clearness of vision and fairness characteristic of the

man, Mr. Webster granted that if the Constitution was a compact between the States, then CALHOUN's position was proved, and nullification and secession were justified. Consequently, Mr. CALHOUN directed all his energies toward establishing the fact, and he was generally conceded to have proved his point. Mr. Randolph, who was present in the Senate Chamber for the last time during this speech, congratulated Mr. CALHOUN, and stated that he regarded his arguments as unanswerable.

The force bill passed, but shortly afterwards a compromise tariff bill was introduced by Mr. Clay, which was agreed to by Mr. CALHOUN. It surrendered the protective principle and established the ad valorem principle, which was the point of contention with Mr. CALHOUN. It provided for a gradual decrease in duties until they should reach the revenue standard, and this also was agreed to by Mr. CALHOUN. He recognized the impossibility of suddenly withdrawing protection from industries which had been accustomed to its aid, and, so long as the protective principle was surrendered, was willing that the reduction should be gradual. In South Carolina the compromise act was not popular at first, but when Mr. CALHOUN arrived and advised the legislature all opposition was withdrawn. This ended the memorable nullification controversy in South Carolina. It had, from the standpoint of Mr. CALHOUN and his followers, been a success. The principle for which they contended had been established, though gradually; the State had emerged from the contest with honor unimpaired and Mr. CALHOUN himself with glory beyond any he had ever known before.

We now enter upon the third and last period of his career. Through his connection with the nullification controversy he was to become the leader of the entire South. Nullification had not actually been carried through, but by a threat of it Congress had been forced to alter the tariff in accordance with

one State's wishes and a precedent had been established. Henceforth nullification was to be absorbed into the larger doctrine of state sovereignty, popularly called "States rights," from which it had emanated, and of this party CALHOUN was to become the undisputed leader. His standing, both as to purity of motives and ability, was higher than it had been at any previous time and the work he had done was a great one for the South. The effect of South Carolina's stand was to be of great benefit to the country. Had the revenue been allowed to flow into the Treasury in such a great stream power must eventually have been centralized at Washington. Thus South Carolina's act assumed patriotic proportions in the eye of the country, as it had always done in the State, and the prestige of CALHOUN was consequently increased. His first work in the Senate after the passing of the storm of nullification was the part he took in censuring President Jackson for removing the Government's deposits from the Bank of the United States to a number of state banks. This measure was regarded as a high-handed measure by the entire Senate, and even the friends of the administration tried to justify it only on the strength of its expediency. CALHOUN'S knowledge of financial affairs was very clear, owing to the careful study he had made during his service in the House twenty years before; his remarks were listened to with great respect. He predicted the panic which followed a few years later. He advocated a complete separation of the Government from the banks and approved of the Independent Treasury bill. This bill was not passed, but it was the forerunner of the system later adopted. Mr. CALHOUN voted for the bill introduced by Mr. Webster to recharter the United States Bank for six years, although it lacked much of meeting with his approval. Much of this period was devoted to a controversy with General Jackson, and the fight was waged with

great bitterness on both sides. His relations with the President had long since ceased to be friendly, and when he voted for the resolution of Mr. Clay, censuring the President for misconduct in regard to the banks, the duel was opened. He made a number of withering speeches upon the course pursued by the President, and in this connection denounced the spoils system he had inaugurated.

This system of the President had no support in Congress, and when CALHOUN moved the appointment of a committee of Senators to inquire into the extent of the executive power and devise a method of reducing it, it met with no opposition. Mr. CALHOUN himself was made chairman of this committee, and the report was so heartily approved by the Senate that 10,000 copies were ordered printed for distribution throughout the country. CALHOUN'S course of action in regard to Jackson was enthusiastically received in the city of Washington, and he was strongly supported by public opinion in his debate with Mr. Benton. The latter violently attacked CALHOUN, who had severely arraigned the spoils system of the administration. The debate was conducted by CALHOUN with great dignity, and in the outcome he was easily victorious.

The next great question which occupied the attention of Mr. CALHOUN was the reception of the abolition petitions. Societies had been formed throughout the Northern and Central States, praying, through their Representatives, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. It threatened the security and peace of the slave-holding States, and Mr. CALHOUN regarded it as an attack on one of the outposts of slavery which must by all means be repulsed. Accordingly, on the 12th of April, 1836, he made a forceful speech declaring that the petitions should not even be received. Congress, however, decided that such a course of action would appear to be a denial of the

right of petition by the people and favored the reception of the petitions. Mr. CALHOUN made another speech, and so convincing were his arguments that the petitions, after having been received, were laid on the table.

Shortly afterwards, in 1837, as Mr. CALHOUN had foreseen and predicted, came the great crash, flooding the country with financial ruin. Mr. Van Buren, the President, recommended a complete separation of the Government from the banks, and in this policy was supported by Mr. CALHOUN. He advocated his views in a strong speech made on the 3d day of October, at the special session called to consider the financial status of the country. It was not until late in July that a satisfactory bill passed both House and Senate and, after receiving the President's signature, became a law. The Independent Treasury bill, as it was called, received the hearty support of Mr. CALHOUN, and for this course of action he was greatly criticised. What he did was entirely consistent with his former course of action, for he had always emphatically declared that he was the partisan of no class or party. Whatever he saw was for the best interest of the country he supported, and he had pursued this course; hence when attacked for having gone over to the administrative party he indignantly denied the ground for such an attack. Of the criticisms of the press he took no notice, but when called to account by Mr. Clay on the floor of the Senate, he replied in a speech which, for eloquence, has never been surpassed in that body. His words bore a striking resemblance to the *De Corona* of Demosthenes, and were in much the same strain. He denied the charge that he had been unfaithful to his party; he had given no organization his allegiance, and therefore he could desert none.

What the motive was for his change of views, he was willing for time to disclose. The imputation sinks to the earth with the groundless charge

on which it rests. I stamp it with scorn in the dust. I pick up the dart, which fell harmless at my feet. I hurl it back. What the Senator charges me with unjustly, he has actually done. He went over on a memorable occasion, and did not leave it to time to disclose his motive.

This last shot drove home, for he was alluding to Mr. Clay's action in 1825 in connection with the election of Mr. Adams and his acceptance of the office of Secretary of State. The speech continued in this vein of fiery eloquence, and completely justified Mr. CALHOUN's conduct. He refuted Mr. Clay's charge, and clearly defined his own position with a manner so impassioned and effective as to leave his listeners spellbound.

Against one party in particular was Mr. CALHOUN's wrath aroused—the Abolitionists. He believed them capable of more mischief and of more dangerous tendencies than any other sect in the country. At the session of 1837–38 he offered a set of resolutions on the subject of abolitionism, and followed them up by a series of speeches defining his position on the slavery question. Possibly it would be well to give a few leading principles of Mr. CALHOUN's belief, as he has been greatly misrepresented. He viewed it as a political institution, whose existence began before the Constitution was formed and was recognized in that document. The framers of the Constitution considered slaves as property, and acknowledged the right of ownership of them. Consequently, under rights of property, the States were bound by a pledge to abstain from all interference, and that in the District of Columbia and States not excluded by the Missouri Compromise, being the common property of all the States, the owner of slaves was entitled to the safe protection of his property should he emigrate there with his slaves, that is, on common soil; also the rights of property should be protected. Slavery was defended in the South on account of existing conditions. Where the races, almost equal in number, existed side by side, one must always be subject to the other. Besides, of

what value, he asks, were political rights when they were exercised, as he saw, in the case of thousands of voters in the North, who were under the domination of powerful monopolies, and were forced to vote according to dictation? Mr. CALHOUN was active on all important questions coming before the Senate, and took a prominent part in all debates, making several very noteworthy speeches.

In March, 1843, Mr. CALHOUN resigned his place in the Senate and retired to his estate at Fort Hill, in the neighborhood of Pendleton Court-House. His private affairs had suffered greatly from his protracted absence in Washington, and he was forced to give them his attention.

It was impossible for him, however, to long refrain from active participation in affairs, so when, in February of the next year, the President offered him the position of Secretary of State, made vacant by the death of William Upshur, he again entered the arena. During his term of office he was instrumental in securing the annexation of Texas as an integral part of the Union. In fact, he was the most powerful agent in securing this important measure. Upon the election of Mr. Polk he resigned his position in the Cabinet, as he was not in entire accord with the administration's views in regard to the Oregon difficulty. He was offered the mission to England by Mr. Polk, but this he declined and again retired to private life. Here, at Fort Hill, he enjoyed a short rest and devoted himself to the work he was writing on political economy. It has been said that if CALHOUN had devoted his life to authorship, he would have been one of the most original and philosophical writers this country has ever produced. To show the esteem in which he was held, in 1845, when he made a journey to Memphis to the convention for the purpose of considering the development of the natural resources of the South and West,

his progress was made an occasion for ovations along his entire route, and his reception, even in Jackson's own country, were equal to the earlier demonstrations in honor of the old general.

He was not, however, to be allowed to remain in private life. His friends thought his presence in Washington necessary; accordingly, upon the resignation of Judge Huger from the Senate, he again entered that august body, in the service of which he was destined to die. He was immediately plunged into questions of the greatest moment. Polk seemed to desire a war with Mexico and was intent upon precipitating it. At the same time he laid claim to "all Oregon" and forced on the country a most alarming situation. We could ill afford a war with England, and never with England and Mexico combined. Accordingly, it was left to the Senate to extricate the country from this dilemma, and CALHOUN was pushed to the front. He offered resolutions to the effect that contradictory claims to the territory might be settled by treaty. Thus, by a policy of "wise and masterly inactivity," he sought to delay events until the outcome of the struggle with Mexico could be seen. Never since the days of his early career, before his advocacy of nullification, had Mr. CALHOUN enjoyed a national reputation so great or his views held in such reverence.

He was the preeminent statesman of the day, and to him the Nation looked for deliverance from her difficulties. The British minister offered to make the forty-ninth parallel the boundary of the disputed territory, and the compromise was accepted by the Senate, which had been left solely in charge of the treaty. On March 16, 1846, CALHOUN made his great speech on the treaty, and recommended its acceptance. The Senate was crowded, and the Senators listened eagerly as the great statesman spoke his message. The speech advised compromise, and the advice was followed. The forty-ninth degree of latitude was

accepted as the northwest boundary of the disputed Oregon Territory, and the cry of "54, 40, or fight" was at an end.

Its termination was most fortunate for this country, for five days after the negotiations were concluded hostilities broke out with Mexico, and this would have given a different turn to the situation. Mr. CALHOUN was opposed to the war with Mexico, and if he had been given a chance, might have prevented it. He was overwhelmed, however, by popular feeling, and the war went forward. Had he followed the advice of his friends, and only acquiesced in the course events were taking, he would have remained the foremost man in the United States, and perhaps triumphantly ridden into the presidency. Such a thing, however, was foreign to his nature, for he could never sacrifice his convictions of what seemed to him to be right. By this act he threw away his great chance to satisfy his life's ambition, and the fact must always remain a monument to him, greater than the office could ever have been.

Soon the results of the war, which CALHOUN had seen to be fatal to the South, were apparent. A great territory was wrested from Mexico, and it was believed that the administration favored the annexation of the whole country. In January, 1848, CALHOUN made a speech, which he thought put an end to this idea, but the fact remained that much territory had been acquired, and some disposition had to be made of it as regards slavery.

Accordingly, the Wilmot proviso was introduced on February 19, 1847, by the party in power, providing that no slavery should exist in the territory recently acquired from Mexico. This was what CALHOUN had foreseen, and he opposed it with all his might. He offered a set of resolutions, which provided that Congress had no right to legislate to the discrimination of any of the States of the Union, or to deprive any citizen emigrat-

ing to the new States of the right of property, or to dispose of conditions before the States in question should be admitted to the Union and given a voice in the matter. He spoke in defense of his resolution, and gave the position of his whole career in a few brief sentences. The free States already had a majority of votes in the electoral college, there was a majority in the House, and the Senate was evenly divided. Should more States be formed from time to time, and all of them free, then the balance of power would be on the side of the free States. Could they be intrusted to safeguard the rights of the slave States, who were in the minority? Certainly not, and a course would be followed that would be ruinous to the slave States. Eventually, then, in the nature of things, the South would withdraw from a union of so little advantage to her. Sentiment never yet bound together a nation. There must be advantages accruing to both sections or civil war would come. This was CALHOUN'S great life work—to prevent the disruption of the States and to preserve the Union. To do this he contended the balance of power must be preserved. Slavery, as an institution of the South and a form of property guaranteed by the Constitution, must be upheld or it would prove the rock on which the Union would split. The last years of his life were spent in preaching this doctrine. He was the almost undisputed leader of the South, and to him every man of his party came for instructions as to a great master. His great life work was to lead his people past the impending doom that threatened them and to preserve an unbroken Union, just in its recognition of the rights of all sections, with "equal rights to all and special privileges to none." His health was fast failing, and it was evident that the great statesman could last only a little longer.

In January, 1850, he fell ill with pneumonia, and grew steadily worse. On February 18 he was in his place once more, but

after that was confined to his rooms. His one desire was to go back into the Senate, if for only an hour. He had one last speech to deliver, the great message of his life, and he could not die with it left unsaid. Accordingly, on the 4th of March, he was in the Chamber, though so ill that he was obliged to act on his friends' advice and to give his speech to his friend, James M. Mason, of Virginia, to read. As the voice of the Virginia orator rang out over the Senate Chamber, CALHOUN sat with features as of a stone image, his eyes shining with the intensity of his purpose.

It was his last great message to the country, and was awe-inspiring in the accuracy with which it foretold future events. It has been pronounced by eminent critics, and of a disposition unfavorable to CALHOUN, as the most important speech made before the war by any southern leader in its power to mold public sentiment.

He began by reiterating the doctrine that he had preached all his life—the Union must be preserved, and to save it, agitation of the slavery question must cease. The South must be allowed her rights of property, guaranteed under the Constitution, or the question will end in disunion. The equilibrium of power between the sections must be preserved and the South given an equal share in the voice of the Government. If the Union is to be preserved the South must be conceded an equal share in the recently acquired territory, the agitation of the slave question must stop, and an amendment made to the Constitution establishing again the balance of power. If the North intended to do this, let her say so. If not, let the States depart in peace. He ended by a last statement of his position: He had striven always to stop the agitation of slavery and save the Union; if this should be impossible, then his efforts would be to save the South.

where he lived, and upon whose side was justice and the Constitution.

Such was the last great speech of the great leader. He spoke once more in the Senate, on the 7th of March, in reply to Webster, who declared that the Union could not be destroyed. CALHOUN answered that it could, and by "great moral causes." This was his last appearance. He was confined to his room by a cough and by racking pains, and with his body growing weaker every day.

Not so his mind, for he was in the full possession of all his mental faculties, and his massive brain was as vigorous as ever. He busied himself to the last with public affairs and his papers. He believed that the South and the Union were doomed for destruction unless he saved them, and he clung desperately to every moment in which he could work for their salvation. During his last days he dictated to his secretary a set of resolutions which he intended introducing to the Senate as the ultimatum of the South. They recited that the Southern States could not lawfully be deprived of equal rights in the territory acquired from Mexico or from any other source; that the people of a Territory had no right to form a constitution and a State without the permission of Congress, and the action of California was consequently void; that Congress had no right to give validity to California's constitution; that the Wilmot Proviso was an attempt to deprive the South of its rights by a palpably unconstitutional method, and that the time had arrived when the Southern States owed it to themselves and the other States of the Union to settle forever the question at issue between them.

These resolutions were merely the summing up of CALHOUN'S views on the whole matter. When he had finished their dictation he wished for "one time more to speak in the Senate. I

can do more than on any past occasion in my life." Still, in dying, his last thought was to save the Union and how to do it. He never wished for secession so long as there was any way to prevent it. To the last his mind wrestled with the problem. As has been said: "It was a Senator rather than a man who was dying." His thoughts were concentrated on the country to the last, and with his mind still on the problem he passed from the sphere of earthly action into eternity. On the morning of the 31st of March, 1850, the great statesman breathed his last, and the long battle was ended.

Of his private life it is unnecessary to speak other than to say that it was pure and blameless. He spent forty years in the public service—as a member of the general assembly of South Carolina; three times elected to Congress; for eight years Secretary of War; twice elected Vice-President of the United States, in 1824 and 1828; United States Senator; Secretary of State in Tyler's Cabinet; and after that United States Senator until the time of his death. During these four decades in public service, faithful to every trust, patriotic in every fiber of his being, devoted to the Union, but believing with all his heart that its perpetuation depended upon preserving to the States their rights under the Constitution, a philosopher and statesman of the highest order, orator, and author, he served the nation and his State faithfully and well. No man has ever been so honored by South Carolina as was JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN, the State's greatest and most gifted son. From 1832 to the time of his death the people of South Carolina received his counsel and followed his lead implicitly. As true as they were to him he was to them and to their best interest as he saw it.

When he passed away at half-past 7 o'clock Sabbath morning, March 31, 1850, the highest honors were paid him at the Capitol

of the Nation, and throughout the country there was genuine and sincere regret that one who was most worthy to sit in the seats of the mighty was no more. But it was reserved for the people of his native State, without any division, to do honor to his memory as befit those who loved him with a sincere devotion and whose political idol he was.

These honors did not cease when his body was consigned to the tomb. The women of South Carolina, whose virtue and patriotism have ever been the chief glory of the State, undertook the work of erecting to him a monument in granite and marble that would bespeak in some measure South Carolina's appreciation and pride in her favorite son. On the 26th of April, 1887, the CALHOUN monument was unveiled at Charleston, S. C., in the presence of patriotic thousands and hundreds of distinguished citizens from all over the country. The monument stands more than 50 feet high, and cost \$60,000. The oration was delivered by that prince of orators, L. Q. C. Lamar. Nearly sixty years have elapsed since the death of the great states-rights champion. In this period have occurred events of the first moment and involving the very existence of the Nation. The civil war occurred, as CALHOUN predicted might be; the slaves were freed, given the franchise, and in the South placed in political power, as CALHOUN had predicted as one of the possibilities of the future. This, however, was for only a comparatively short period of time, and the South did not drop to the level of Haiti or Santo Domingo, as CALHOUN had intimated might be the case. The civil war is a matter of history. One of its results was to forever set at rest the questions of nullification and secession, and the establishment for all time of the doctrine that the Union is indivisible and indestructible. The bitter and sectional passions engendered by the war have almost entirely passed away. The man who in either branch

of the American Congress to-day would undertake to make a violent, abusive, and sectional speech would find himself solitary and alone engaged in a vain effort to revive issues which have been finally buried. The time is and will be when the American people throughout this country will look upon the participants in that great struggle—North and South—with a common pride that can only be likened to and compared with the pride felt by the English people for those who participated in the wars between the House of York and the House of Lancaster, commonly called the “war of the roses.” A nation can not be great unless patriotism abounds and a common sympathy binds all the people together. The war with Spain demonstrates conclusively that in none of these essentials of greatness is the United States wanting.

The statue of JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN stands in Statuary Hall, the old Hall of Representatives, the scene of his first efforts and labors in the service of the Nation, placed there by the State of South Carolina, and none more worthy than he to be so honored. [Applause.]



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